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*for*

# BETTER TIMES

THE COMMISSION ON AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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COMMISSION ON AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
The Catholic University of America
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# The Commission on American Citizenship

## The Catholic University of America

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# Acknowledgments

IN this book the Commission on American Citizenship of The Catholic University of America sets forth the purposes and ideals which have given direction and guidance to its various activities.

For the clear and vivid presentation of the problems that face Christian education in modern society the Commission acknowledges its indebtedness to the Right Reverend Monsignor George Johnson, of the Department of Education of The Catholic University of America, and to Doctor Robert J. Slavin, O.P., of the Department of Philosophy of The Catholic University of America, who collaborated with him in its formulation.

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# Foreword

IN the year of Our Lord 1939, the Catholic University of America completed the first fifty years of its existence. The high point of the celebration of its Golden Jubilee was the receipt of a letter to the American hierarchy from His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, then gloriously reigning as Christ's Vicar on Earth. In the course of that letter the Holy Father wrote:

"The celebration of this Jubilee will be not alone one of retrospect and of commemoration, but also and principally one of prospect and of dedication. Indeed the chief reason which has moved Us to signalize the observances by this further evidence of Our profound interest is the conviction that in the years which lie ahead The Catholic University is called to assume still greater and more momentous responsibilities than in the past.

"The world has entered upon one of those periods of unrest, of questioning, of disorientation and of conflict which have been well described as turning points of history. Christian doctrine and Christian morality are under attack from several quarters; dangerous theories which a few years ago were but whispered in the secret conventicles of discontent are today preached from the housetops, and are even finding their way into action; private immorality and public subversion have in many places raised the banner of revolt against the Cross of Christ.

"It is a source of deep consolation to Us, as it must be to you, Our Beloved Sons and Venerable Brethren, that the Church in America is so well prepared to meet the challenge of these critical times, and that in The Catholic Uni-

versity We possess such an admirable instrument for the exposing of error and for the dissemination of Christian truth. Through the University it will be possible to bring to bear upon the most pressing problems of the day the full force of those principles of justice and charity in which alone they will find their solution. In the course of Our Pontificate, we have had occasion to treat these problems more than once in Our Encyclical Letters; here we wish only to point out the solid basis upon which Our teaching rests. Since the sciences of civics, sociology, and economics deal with individual and collective human welfare, they cannot escape from the philosophical and religious implications of man's origin, nature and destiny. If they ignore God, they can never hope to understand adequately the creature which He formed in His own image and likeness, and whom He sent His own Divine Son to redeem.

"Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality. In consequence of his high conception of the nature and gifts of man, the Catholic is necessarily the champion of true human rights and the defender of true human liberties; it is in the name of God Himself that he cries out against any civic philosophy which would degrade man to the position of a soulless pawn in a sordid game of power and prestige, or would seek to banish him from membership in the human family; it is in the same Holy Name that he opposes any social philosophy which would regard man as mere chattel in commercial competition for profit, or would set him at the throats of his fellows in a blind, brutish class struggle for existence.

"The Catholic University, then, because it is Catholic, has the traditional mission of guarding the natural and supernatural heritage of man. In the fulfillment of this

sublime mission, it must, because of the exigencies of the present age, give special attention to the sciences of civics, sociology, and economics. The Encyclical Letters, to which We have already referred, deal with the modern problems in these fields, and apply to them the unchanging principles of philosophy and religion. With these Encyclicals as the basis of study and research, the University can evolve a constructive program of social action, fitted in its details to local needs, which will command the admiration and acceptance of all right-thinking men."

The American hierarchy at once issued the following mandate to The Catholic University:

"The Holy Father, alarmed by the revolutionary conditions prevailing in most countries, charges us in a special manner to prepare for what may be a turning point in the history of the world. We must face the fact that the dangers of which His Holiness speaks threaten our own democratic institutions. The Pope emphatically calls upon us 'to assume still greater and more momentous responsibilities than in the past.'

"We Bishops, shepherds of souls, whose duty it is to guard the sheep of Christ and to seek other sheep not of His fold, are seriously alarmed by the spread of subversive teaching and by the audacity of subversive action in our country. We are witnesses today of proclamations and programs which, if translated into action, would destroy all that is just and ennobling in liberty-loving America. When, therefore, Pope Pius XI says that The Catholic University 'must, because of the exigencies of the present age, give special attention to the sciences of civics, sociology, and economics,' His Holiness calls us to the defense of our democratic government, framed in a Constitution that safeguards the inalienable rights of man. The Pope ex-

plicitly instructs The Catholic University to 'evolve a constructive program of social action, fitted in its details to local needs, which will command the admiration and acceptance of all right-thinking men.'

"This charge solemnly approves the American hierarchy's traditional position of unswerving allegiance to our free American institutions.

"To carry out the injunction of the Holy Father it is necessary that our people, from childhood to mature age, be ever better instructed in the true nature of Christian democracy. A precise definition must be given to them both of democracy in the light of Catholic truth and tradition and of the rights and duties of citizens in a representative Republic such as our own. They must be held to the conviction that love of country is a virtue and that disloyalty is a sin.

"To foster this Christian concept of citizenship the Bishops in their annual meeting have charged The Catholic University of America to compile at once a more comprehensive series of graded texts for all educational levels. On the foundation of religious training, which is the distinctive characteristic of our schools, these texts will build an enlightened, conscientious American citizenship."

In November, 1938, at the inauguration of the Jubilee Year, the Rector of the University, the late Bishop Joseph Moran Corrigan, organized the Commission on American Citizenship.

During the ensuing five years the Commission has devoted itself to the task of developing a social program for use in Catholic schools, and of providing the necessary text books and teaching materials. Throughout it has been guided by the principles of Christian social teaching which are found in the Papal Encyclicals, in the writings of

authoritative Catholic scholars, and in the daily practice of the Church.

In the following pages, an attempt is made to formulate these principles in a definite and practical manner not only for the possible inspiration and guidance of those who are engaged in the great mission of making the power of Christ felt in modern society, through Christian education, but likewise for the information and instruction of all who desire to become better acquainted with the social teachings of the Catholic Church.

# I

## THE BASIS OF A FREE GOVERNMENT

WHEN the men who founded this nation formulated a Declaration of Independence based on the principle that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and then proceeded to draw up a Constitution that would guarantee respect for these rights on the part of government, they were giving substance to aspirations that men have cherished since the dawn of history. Deep in the human heart there has ever been some inkling of the fact that there are sacred precincts in which the individual has the right, under God, to call his soul his own and into which he cannot brook intrusion on the part of anything or anyone outside of himself. In the degree that he does, he loses something of his human stature and becomes less a man.

The limits of these precincts are not easy to define. We were created with a social as well as an individual nature and destined to live in the society of our fellows. They have claims on us and we have claims on them and from cradle to grave our lives and our destinies, our hopes and our dreams, are inextricably interwoven with theirs. We are not alone, because it is not good for us to be alone; we need one another and we achieve happiness according as we learn what it means to love one another and bear one another's burdens. In the degree that a man walls in his soul against his neighbor, his personality shrinks and he loses his capacity for the fullness of life.

Yet there is something about each and every one of us that is inalienable, something that we cannot give without

losing all further capacity to give. For if we yield it, or if it is taken away from us, we are no longer ourselves, but pawns in alien hands, moved about and disposed of by a will that is not our own. He who has no life he can call his own cannot give life; he who is in bondage cannot set others free; he who has no freedom to pursue happiness cannot bring happiness to his fellow man.

Down through the ages, men have striven, sometimes successfully, often in vain, to achieve such an ordering of affairs as would safeguard the prerogatives of the individual and at the same time promote the social good. Government is the instrumentality which implements the common will, and it has brought happiness when it recognized that the common will is the fruit of individual wills working together, while it has created misery and suffering, when it left the individual will no choice but to conform. Government has been good whenever, recognizing the sacred character of the individual citizen, it sought to base its mandates on his consent; it has been bad whenever it refused to admit him into its councils or to have a voice in the framing of the laws that bound him. Even though tyranny may be benevolent, its fruits are evil, because it deprives human beings of their God-given right to grow in virtue through the exercise of their own free wills.

Faith in human nature, in the integrity and worthwhileness of individual men and women, is the necessary basis for free government. Where it is absent, fear rules the hearts of those who have become strong enough to impose their wills on others and fear fashions for itself instruments of oppression. It seeks to justify itself on the plea that people cannot be trusted, that they are stupid and incapable of self-government. Such fear, such distrust of people, found no entry into the hearts and minds of our Founding Fathers. They had faith in human nature; they believed in men and women. Because they had faith, they

dared to embark on what has proved to be the most ambitious adventure in free government that the world has ever seen.

As a nation, we have prospered and grown great. Working together as free men and free women, the people of the Unitd States have, in less than two centuries, developed a noble and dynamic civilization, where before there had been naught save a vast wilderness. They have cleared the forests to make way for human life and industry. They have planted, and the rich soil has yielded them an abundance. They have dug into the earth and uncovered fabulous riches. They have harnessed the floods and found ways of bringing the forces of nature to serve their needs. Technology came to their assistance, and what began as an economy primarily agricultural has evolved into one that is predominantly industrial. Comforts and conveniences undreamed of in the past gradually became daily necessities within the grasp of almost everyone and wealth abounded on every side.

Tidings of the good things to be found in the United States went abroad to all the world, and in other lands the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed began to turn their eyes to the West. Soon they were on their way, millions of them, drawn by the vision of life and abundance of life that awaited them in free America. They brought with them their own particular genius, born of the civilization and the customs of their native land, and thus contributed to life in the New World the richness that is born of variety. Under the impact of a growing population frontiers were pushed farther and farther back until in this our day they have all but disappeared.

To be sure, the story of America includes its share of dark chapters. Its history is not the chronicle of an Utopia. Frontier life was harsh and crude, a circumstance which often made it cruel. There is a risk involved in freedom

and there are always those who abuse privileges. All too frequently the eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty has been relaxed, with the result that the bold, the ruthless, the self-interested enhance themselves at the expense of others. It took a frightful, fratricidal war to outlaw slavery as an accepted institution. Intent on their rights, men are prone to forget their duties; immersed in material concerns, they lose sight of higher values, and greed for money, greed for power, greed for position, lead them to identify the common good with their own selfish goals. Oppressions have been wrought under the Stars and Stripes; they are being wrought today—which only proves that true democracy, the democracy envisaged by the men who laid the foundations of our government and our national life, is not something that happens automatically. On the contrary, it calls for a large measure of individual intelligence and self-discipline. Its perpetuation is guaranteed only as understanding deepens and the principle of self-sacrifice is accepted.

Increasingly in these latter years have we become conscious of the defects in our national life. The dislocations caused by the First World War profoundly affected our economy and the culmination came with the depression. We have been jolted into a rude awakening to the fact that ours is no longer a land of boundless opportunity and that to some degree we have been living in a fool's paradise. Something has been happening to us, gradually, insidiously, something of which we have been too faintly aware. That something is that our economics fail to correspond to our politics, that the casting of the ballot does not necessarily guarantee our freedom.

Our government and our institutions are based on the acceptance of the fact that there is something sacred about individual men and women, that before the law they are equal and are not to be deprived of that measure of life

and freedom and opportunity for happiness and content that is their endowment from their Creator. As far as government is concerned, we have had large success in clinging to this principle and in the making of laws we have ever been mindful of the Bill of Rights. However, we have not been sufficiently sensitive to the manner in which economic power has been developing in our midst. Industrial change has been proceeding too rapidly for us to realize its full import. We thought we were living in a land of plenty, but all too tardily are we realizing that not all of us are beneficiaries of that plenty. Our vaunted "free enterprise" has not brought freedom from want and freedom from fear to millions of us.

Political freedom becomes a hollow sham when it attempts to function in the midst of economic bondage. Too many American families, living in this land of ours that teems with riches, are forced, through no fault of their own, to eke out the barest kind of an existence. They are not properly fed; they lack adequate medical care; they are housed in hovels; their children are deprived of a decent schooling. Because they are forced to grub for the necessities of life, they are strangers to those things that make life worth while. As human beings, they have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but circumstances being what they are, it is impossible for them to exercise this right.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a growing realization on our part that our zeal for the preservation of individual liberty must be matched by our devotion to the cause of social security. These ideals are not necessarily exclusive; as a matter of fact, they complement one another, and neither can be achieved at the expense of the other. Of late years, there has been an acceleration in the framing of social legislation on all levels of government. Those who would prefer to let nature take its course

have been fearful of this development and have seen in it the ultimate doom of free institutions. Their forebodings have not frightened us. We are convinced that it is possible to bring our economic system into conformity with the principles of sound reason and justice without doing violence to the essentials of democratic government.

After all, the instinct for freedom is strong in our hearts, and whatever may be our shortcomings, we have learned through the experience of more than a century and a half much of the art of self-government. We are not novices in the uses of liberty. The American character is one of the best evidences in the world that human beings develop best when they have a voice in the shaping of their own destinies. It combines generosity with calculation, idealism with common sense, courage with prudence, simplicity with shrewdness, in a measure that would seem to guarantee that whatever it does for the common welfare will not spell individual bondage.

We are not likely to lose sight of the fact that, despite its failures, our democracy has largely succeeded. No place else in the world have men had richer success in coping with the problems that were created when the Machine came in to transform the face of the earth. Opportunity may never have been as abundant as pictured in the story books of yesterday, but rich it has been, none the less. There have been no artificial barriers to keep any class of people permanently dispossessed and, though the upward surge for some may often have seemed heartbreakingly slow, the star of hope has never ceased to beckon onward. Our standard of living is high and its base is broad. The path from the slum to national distinctions, from the hovel to the Hall of Fame, rough and rocky and thorny though it may be, is well trodden. Our rural population may have suffered greatly because of our lack of sympathetic understanding of its problems, but it has never

degenerated into a peasantry. Labor has fought hard to wring from industry a tardy recognition of its rights, but it has never known serfdom. Millions of children are being deprived of adequate education, but ungrudgingly we devote more of our tax money to schools than to any other single purpose. Often we have been stupid, frequently intolerant, and now and then vicious, but in the main we have been kind to one another.

Elsewhere in the world, peoples are groaning and travailing in agony because freedom has died. The Communist, the Fascist, the National Socialist proclaim the New Order and tell us that in liberty and democracy there is no hope. But the bitter fruits of their tyranny are poisoning mankind and rendering life unlivable. He who runs may read and know them for what they are. Perhaps we have not appreciated what we have had here in the United States; perhaps we have wasted our substance living carelessly, stupidly; perhaps we have forgotten that if men are to remain free, they must strive for personal integrity; perhaps we have sacrificed the common welfare on the altar of personal greed; perhaps we have forgotten the meaning of America. We know now that it is time for us to awaken. The alternatives to what we have are making the rivers of the world run with blood; they have brought peril to our very doors.

We are fighting to the death for all that America stands for; but we dare not forget for one moment that our most vital task, more vital by far than the producion of guns and planes and tanks and battleships, more vital even than military and naval victory, is seeing to it that what America stands for, she increasingly becomes.

## II

## SOCIETY AND CITIZENSHIP

WE do not exist alone. We were created to live in society and to work out our salvation in the midst of our fellow men. We are born into the family; very early we toddle out into the neighborhood, gradually come to know the community, and bit by bit realize that we are citizens of the state and the nation. More and more, as we grow up, we become aware of the rest of the world and develop some sense of membership in the human race.

Education is a social process; it takes place in society. Society operates to shape the character of the individual; and the individual in turn, for the most part within a narrow circle but sometimes in a very wide orbit, influences the character of society. It has been well said that better times await the coming of better men. The family, the neighborhood, the community, even the state or the nation, and eventually the whole wide world are leavened by the saving influence of virtuous men and women. By the same token, the pernicious infection of viciousness spreads far and wide, affecting not only those who are near at hand, but those who are a long way off.

The beginnings, whether of virtue or of vice, are made within the circle of personal contacts. It is the embodiment of good or evil in those we consort with in our daily lives that influences us most. Those who are separated from us by space or time may work upon us through the printed page, through music, drama, the screen, or the radio. They are effective in the degree that their doctrine really enters into our daily lives and living, into our think-

ing and feeling and dreaming. They are never quite as real or as compelling as the members of our own family, the friends and companions with whom we spend our time, the persons with whom we do business, and all others whose activities touch us intimately and with whom we are engaged in a community of effort.

All who are baptized in Christ are members of His Body and are responsible for carrying out His mission of salvation to the world. In Him and through Him, we have the commission to go forth and teach, to bear witness to Him by word and deed. Each and every one of us is obligated to participate in the work of Christian education. The world needs His Truth; there is no other Name under heaven in which it can be saved. If it is to believe, it must first hear, and we are sent to announce unto it the glad tidings of salvation.

Everyone of us has his own area of activity, his own particular orbit. For most of us the area is limited and the orbit not too wide. The number of persons we affect is not large. For that reason we are in a position to render the most effective service and to achieve the most lasting results. In the long run more good can be accomplished by a casual conversation on a bus than by a nation-wide radio hook-up. The power and the beauty that is Christ is made more completely manifest in local community activity than in the pomp and circumstance of national display.

## *We Are Citizens of a Democracy*

A trend of the times, apparent the world over, is the development of strong centralized governments. The trend is manifest in our own national life. Increasingly, since the war between the states, in a greatly accelerated manner since the last war, the activities of our Federal

Government have multiplied and its influence over the details of our existence has become greater. Whether we like it or not, this trend seems fated to continue and to become even more definite. It stems out of the economic and industrial conditions of the age. Technological advance has revolutionized our methods of production and distribution and introduced elements that are not amenable to direction and control by state and local governments. Dislocations of many kinds have been brought about that can be ameliorated only if we make use of our national government. Florida is no longer far away from Chicago, and what happens in California may have vital consequences for the people of Maine.

This centralizing trend, inevitable though it may be, is fraught with peril for the survival of the freedom that has made us a great people. This much every thoughtful person must admit. Our best qualities have been nurtured and developed through community action and the exercise of local self-government. We have become Americans by living and acting as Americans; whatever we have achieved in the way of capacity for self-direction and self-control, we have achieved by dint of governing ourselves and not by being herded about at the behest of distant bureaucrats. The spirit of the frontier has presided over our national development; national greatness, we have been convinced, is a goal to be reached through free association and common effort. The America we love and cherish was not made in Washington, but in every town and village and hamlet, and at every crossroad the country over. We have educated ourselves in and for democracy by living democracy.

A strongly centralized government cannot educate a people for democracy. It is too far away from the living room, the back yard, the corner drug store, and the town hall to have that inward effectiveness that is the very

essence of education. It can give instruction through propaganda, but there always comes a moment when such instruction fails to instruct and is taken with the salt of cynicism. It can regiment and regulate and bring about a kind of haphazard, if not sullen, acquiescence. These things do not touch the heart of democracy for the heart of democracy is the heart of the individual man, the individual woman, the individual child. That heart must be put into the great task of preserving and perpetuating the ways of a free people. One's heart is in a task only when one feels that it is his own task and that its successful completion depends on him. One loses interest and becomes careless and lackadaisical, if not resentful, when one feels that he is simply carrying out the designs of a distant, impersonal officialdom.

It behooves the American people to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the preservation and development of local self-government through active community living. The frontier may be passing, but the neighborhood remains, and in the neighborhood we have the real American. The Federal Government seems destined to enhance its powers and to multiply its activities. It happens that we are living in that kind of an age. Under the circumstances, it becomes the duty of lovers of liberty to take the necessary steps to see that the impact of centralization is adequately cushioned. The more we do for ourselves locally, the less excuse there is for some bureau head in Washington to add another million dollars to his proposed budget. Even when federal action is necessary, we can render it safer for democracy by keeping ourselves politically fit to participate locally in its administration.

We, as Catholics, should be much more fully conscious than we sometimes seem to be of our obligation to par-

ticipate wholeheartedly in community action. We owe it to our country, and we owe it to God. We are constantly telling ourselves that in our Faith we have the things the world needs and needs sorely. We know the truth, the truth that contains all other truths, the truth that can keep men free. But it is not enough to know the truth; we must put the truth to work. We must do the truth in charity. Our neighbors will catch a glimpse of the truth if we are found working side by side with them, contributing our wisdom, our love, and our energy to the furtherance of worthy causes and the defense of things that are sacred.

While it is always necessary for us, in a society that is becoming increasingly stranger to Christ, to fight for our rights as Catholics, when secularistic forces threaten the sanctity of the home, the rights of parents to control the education of their children, the fundamental decencies of life, we should not get ourselves into a position of being active in community life solely in defense of our own interests. We must guard and protect what is the very essence of our religious freedom, but we also have the obligation of working with men and women of good will toward the making of a better world.

In other words, we must be on our guard against degenerating into just another pressure group intent only on its own purposes and intensifying division in our already too much divided national life. Our integrity must be preserved, to be sure, and there are compromises that we can never make. Yet we are preserving our integrity not just for ourselves, but in order that through us the power of Christ may operate in society. We cannot walk worthy of the vocation to which we are called if we build around ourselves the walls of separation. Following in the footsteps of the Master, it is our duty to go about doing good.

Often have Americans been charged with being a ma-

terialistic people intent on personal gain and measuring everything in terms of dollars and cents. That charge is quite unfounded. We are a humanitarian people, a people that responds readily when the needs and sufferings of others are brought to our attention. Even those who have long since given up any active affiliation with organized religion seem to possess reserves of Christian charity. The message of the Gospel is still ringing in their hearts.

Catholic men and women have an opportunity of making that message articulate by entering wholeheartedly into community activities of one kind or other and working side by side with their fellow citizens in all programs that promise a richer and a better life for more people. If people do not like us, if they distrust us, it is because they do not know us. They will get to know us if they work with us. The better they know us, the better they will understand what we are all about, which means the better they will understand Christ, because He is the explanation of our ideals, our dreams, and our motives.

### *We Are Educated Through Self-Activity*

What we call education is something that happens to a human being as the result of self-activity. In its true sense it involves deep and permanent changes in mind and heart; it makes a person different. It does not result from merely listening to what someone else is saying; this, to say the most, is what we call instruction. Nor is it brought about by some process of stern and strict discipline, predicated on blind acceptance of the dictates of some external authority. This would be regimentation, which is more apt to dehumanize an individual than to develop his divine potentialities. Education takes place whenever any one of us cooperates with the grace that is in him and with the guidance and instruction of those who have some-

thing to teach him, and exercises his own powers unto acquiring a fuller measure of the truth, a deeper love of the good, and a finer appreciation of the beautiful.

It goes without saying that education is not something that is confined to classrooms and organized schooling. It goes on constantly throughout life under all possible circumstances. It is good education whenever the influences which arouse the personality are beneficent; it is bad education when these influences ally themselves with the downward pull that is being exerted constantly by our lower nature. Always it is largely the fruit of our own doing. If we cleave to error and do evil, we become evil; if we do the truth in charity, we grow up unto Him Who is the Head, even unto Christ.

We educate ourselves as American citizens by actually living and working as citizens in our own local communities. The very fact that there is a trend toward centralization of power in the national government calls for greater civic activity of a neighborhood character. The virtues that are involved in citizenship cannot be developed by the mere casting of a ballot. They are the flowering of actual personal effort for the common good.

The Catholic citizen has a very special obligation to enter actively into community activities. Our Savior says, "I am come that they may have life and have it more abundantly." He has things to do for the American people, and He has chosen to do them through us. What the world needs, we possess. We have something to give, and we are derelict to our duty in the degree that we separate ourselves from other people and hoard up the grace that is in us.

## III

## THE FULLNESS OF HUMAN STATURE

WE are rational beings, and consequently we deal with the issues that face us through the medium of abstractions. We make our way in this world not under the impulse of blind instinct but by the use of intelligence, and intelligence works with ideas. Out of the welter of daily experience we arrive at certain generalizations. These enable us to acquire some measure of control over our destinies.

We constantly employ such terms as labor, capital, government, religion, agriculture, welfare, nationalism. All of these are phases of the complicated thing that is our daily life over which our minds exert control by isolating for purposes of specific study its many and varied aspects. What we are likely to lose sight of, however, is the fact that these are abstractions and that back of them are vital, pulsating realities—the joys and the sorrows, the hopes and the ambitions, the comings and the goings of individual men, women, and children. When we fail to keep this fact before us imaginatively the while we think our problems through, it is easy enough to arrive at conclusions that, whatever their academic validity, contribute little, if anything, to the alleviation of misery and the promotion of happiness.

Time and again, through the course of history, human beings have been nailed to the cross of an abstraction. Sometimes it was an idea of personal destiny in the mind of some strong man; sometimes it was a notion of what constitutes goodness that dominated the thinking of a religious zealot; sometimes it was a social philosophy which

no longer conformed with actuality and which attempted to force actuality to conform to its own outmoded ideas. Always the result has been the same—namely, an irrational and tragic diminution of that fullness of life which in the designs of the Creator is maintained to be man's portion here on earth.

What matters fundamentally is not the advance of science and art, not the amassing of learning and the spread of culture, not the improvement of the means of production and the development of more effective methods of distribution. What matters is not government and jurisprudence and education. What matters is the effect of all these things on the farmer tilling his field, on the mechanic working on the assembly line, on the humble housewife busy and troubled about the many things that are involved in homemaking, on the sufferer tossing in pain on a sickbed, on the child at play and quite unconcerned about the problems of the world. For of all things under the sun, the most important, the most sacred is the individual, human personality.

Totalitarian government denies this and insists that individuals have meaning only in relation to the State. Economic organization, even in nations supposedly free, denies it implicitly when it measures everything in terms of profit and industrial efficiency. Individuals deny it when to reach their self-appointed goals they outrage the feelings and the rights of others and push ruthlessly forward. Yet it remains eternally true that the human person is inviolable, and the mark of Cain is on all who refuse to accept the fact that they are their brother's keepers.

There is a growing realization these days that the recognition of the principle that human beings are sacred is of the very essence of our democracy. Were this fact not accepted, there would be no valid reason for free institu-

tions nor any basis for the American Way of life. Yet there is some justification for wondering if the source of this principle and its real implications are very widely understood. The human personality is not sacred simply because we keep on saying that it is. Someone else may as easily say that it is not. When we make statements of this kind, we need to know whereof we speak.

What is involved here is the right answer to the question, "What is a human being?" or to put it in other words, "What is the nature of man?" If there is no substantial difference between humanity and the material things that surround it, if human nature is only the latest stage in a blind evolution or the result of some fortuitous reshuffling of atoms, if we differ only in degree and not in kind from the brute animal, it is hard to see how we can claim to be any more sacred than a noble tree, a lichened rock, or a thoroughbred race horse. Any theory of humanity which puts the accent on the material, which shrugs off the mataphysical and rests its case on what it is pleased to call science, which sees in man only something that proved itself fit to survive the bloody ordeal of tooth and claw, has no right to invoke spiritual values when it finds itself hoist by its own petard. If the political and social science, the educational philosophy, the literary tradition which stem out of the Spencerian hypothesis, and which have been so long and so widely current, are valid, then we have no quarrel with the principle that might makes right. We are acting illogically when we champion the weak against the strong, and we should rejoice and not be shocked into bewilderment when the ruthless and not the meek take possession of the land.

Too many of us nowadays want it both ways. We want the human race to accept the premise that it is bestial in origin and nature, but we are appalled when it reaches bestial conclusions. We cast forth as dangerous

nonsense and obscurantism any suggestion of things spiritual; yet we would cling to those things which are the fruit of the spirit. We delve into the mire of decadence and lust in order to produce a literature that is true to life and expect those who read it to retain their faith in their fellow man.

By means of books and pamphlets, novels, plays and motion pictures, lectures and discussions, we do our best to condition the world for cruelty, tyranny, and the desecration of all that heretofore has been cherished as worthwhile; and then we are shocked beyond measure to discover that the process of conditioning is working. In the name of democracy we appeal to the sacredness of the human personality, seemingly oblivious of the fact that the logic of our materialism not only rules out of course any concept of sacredness, as far as man is concerned, but makes him neither human nor a person.

## *The Nature of Man*

"Man is a creature composed of body and soul and made to the image and likeness of God." The Catholic child learns this explanation of humanity from his catechism and, having once learned it and accepted it, he is in a position to arrive at conclusions about life and living that are in accord with the best and noblest that men and women have ever achieved. His heart and soul become attuned to the wisdom of the ages.

Even without the aid of Divine Revelation, human reason is capable of discerning the fact that, though we have much in common with the animal, we are definitely and decidedly different from the animal. We are capable of behaviour that only perverseness attempts to account for on physiological and chemical grounds. The life principle that animates us enables us to rise above the flesh

and burst the bonds of immediacy. We are conscious of the spirit within us that enables us to live and move and have our being beyond that pale of reflex and instinct and sensation and feeling that circumscribe the existence of the beast. So strikingly evident is this that philosophers have often been led into the error that holds that there is no reality save mind and that the material and physical are mere illusions—an error which in the long run could never do the individual any social harm that is the necessary fruit of the doctrine that goes to the other extreme and makes an illusion of the spiritual.

What unaided reason glimpes in part and in a shadowy manner, the Word of God reveals in the fullness of its beauty. Not only is man endowed with spiritual powers, but by reason of these powers there is reflected in him the image of the Divine and the likeness of his Maker. His destiny is not an earthly one to be achieved through the satisfaction of his fleshly, mundane cravings. Happiness would not be his even though he were possessed of the earth and all its fullness. He is made for union with God and finds complete satisfaction of his desires in the measure that he makes actual his divine potentialities and destroys every barrier and obstacle that separates him from the Source of his life and being.

## *Original Sin*

These barriers and obstacles are many and varied. They derive their strength and effectiveness from the fact that there is in the human heart a mighty urge toward self-sufficiency, an inborn revolt against the notion of subjection to a higher power. There is an abiding disinclination to sacrifice the here and now or any part of it to values that are not palpable. The root of this disorder is Original Sin.

Those who have been schooled in the Philosophy of the Enlightenment and for whom any talk of the supernatural smacks of superstition are not likely to follow along with any thinking which begins with the premise of a divine origin and destiny for man and which accepts Original Sin as a fact. Despite bitter disappointment in the course of events and the evident failure of human nature to solve its problems in its own way and on its own power the modern mind refuses, and no doubt will continue to refuse, to even consider the advisability of taking stock of its position. The suggestion that the way out might be the way back and that the answer might lie in ideas that for centuries have been regarded as outmoded is repugnant to those who have been schooled in the Philosophy of Progress.

Yet only the truth can make men free, and the truth is contained in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Therein is unfolded a vision of human nature wounded by sin, yet capable of rising above itself to divine heights. Always will there be felt the downward drag of self-love and weakness. Yet those who accept Christ, who strive to work out their destiny in union with Him, experience the fact that the grace of God is sufficient for them and that in Him Who gives them strength they can do all things.

The struggle will never cease. No matter how rich the material environment or how perfect the social organization, personal integrity will never be achieved automatically. Social progress, that is to say real progress and not the spurious counterfeit that has lured men on so long, will be guaranteed in the degree that more and more people, individual men and women, seriously and unreservedly accept Jesus Christ and His Truth and bow their necks to His yoke.

Human happiness is the result of the practice of virtue. Peace and contentment are born of self-discipline, which is nothing more than the subordination of all our impulses and inward drives to the law of right reason. It is contrary to the dictates of common sense to use anything under the sun, ourselves included, for purposes for which it was not intended. To do so inevitably results in destruction and ruin for the object concerned. It is irrational to use a golden candlestick, delicately wrought, to drive a nail or an exquisite tapestry to wrap up a bundle. By the same token to prostitute the powers and the possibilities of human nature to ends for which they were not intended spells ultimate disillusion, misery, and tragedy.

Every day experience bears eloquent and inescapable witness to the fact that they seek for happiness in vain who in the quest lose their own souls or any part of them. The thrill that was expected from the wielding of great power fails to materialize when there is no getting away from the consciousness of inward weakness. The possession of riches cannot compensate for the torturing realization that they were won at the price of honor. No position in society can bring joy to the man who realizes that he has attained it the wrong way and who knows his life is a living lie.

On the other hand, there is happiness in the heart of him who prizes a right conscience above public opinion, integrity over personal gain, and who refuses to make compromise with principle, even though by every conventional standard his life might be judged a failure.

Humanity achieves its full stature in the measure that it approaches the divine. God created it and destined it for union with Him. By subordinating itself, its desires, and its ambitions to His Will, it becomes one with Him

and thus finds its heart's desire. The Divine Will is made manifest in conscience and in Revelation. The life which is lived in accordance with it is the life of virtue, the only life which is full and complete.

### *The Test of Human Institutions*

A man becomes less a man if he refuses to acknowledge the fact of his creaturehood and sets himself apart from God. When he lives and acts as though he belongs to himself, he shrinks in human stature. The consequent distortion of his own personality brings about a distortion in his relations with others. They become for him means to his own ends and, even when his life and deeds are cloaked in the semblance of humanitarianism and he makes a great gesture at being social minded, he is worshiping at the shrine of his own importance and ministering to his own ego. He does not really love his neighbors; he loves only himself, and toward all others his attitude is calculating.

A social order which puts a premium on self-interest and self-gratification, which facilitates forgetfulness of the Divine Law, which makes it difficult for men and women to practice virtue, is a bad social order. A social order which is founded on the acceptance of the fact of creation with all that is therein implied of creaturehood, which is imbued with the consciousness that man is destined not for the things of earth but for union with God, which facilitates noble and virtuous living, is a good social order. The test of any institution, of any group, of any government, is its potentiality for bringing men closer to God and thus increasing their human stature.

The human personality is sacred because it came forth from God, belongs to God, and is destined to return to God. If it is to fulfill its destiny, its life must not be

artificially limited nor its liberty unreasonably circumscribed. It must not be impeded in its striving for that true happiness which is the fruit of virtuous living. These are the truths that are implied in our faith in democracy; our task it is to make them explicit in our daily living.

## *Social Conditions and the Development of Personality*

Each and every one of us must make his own life. He alone can develop his personality; the improvement and perfection of his character is something that no other can do for him. Yet no man lives apart from his environment; he cannot escape society. Whatever we plan, whatever we hope for, whatever we do is conditioned by the world in which we live. Consequently, the manner in which that world is organized, the folkways and the customs that prevail, the quality of the government and the institutions that have been developed influence us tremendously in our efforts to accomplish the destined purpose of our existence. It is abundantly true that "better times await the coming of better men;" but it is also true that the improvement of the times must proceed hand in hand with the improvement of men.

There are always enough "better men" at hand, men who are better than their times, whose responsibility it is to devote their vision, their courage, and their love of humanity to destroying the handicaps to decent human living that have been allowed to accumulate, and to creating a social environment which accords with right reason. The truth makes for freedom and fullness of life; those who have learned the truth have an obligation to put it to work.

Human improvement means total improvement; it means the betterment of the whole person. It cannot successfully concentrate on one phase of the life of the

individual to the neglect of other phases. Human personality is a unitary thing which cannot be dissected and divided. The soul does not exist apart from the body but is united with it in a most intimate and vital manner. What we eat bears a relation to what we think, and what we enjoy has an effect on our prayers. Our moral fibre is strengthened or weakened by the way we earn our living, and our personal integrity is measurable in terms of our social conduct. Therefore, our physical health, our economic well-being, our social and civic relations, our cultural development, all are bound up in the most intimate manner with our moral and spiritual progress. Whatever contributes to our effectiveness in any one of these departments of our living contributes to our effectiveness in all of them. What we lack in any one of them, we lack in all.

*Bodily Health*

It stands to reason that no individual can give the most to life and get the most out of it if he is lacking in bodily health. A sound mind functions best in a sound body. Lack of health means a lack of vitality that reveals itself in all that a man thinks and does. The commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," applies as much to our actions in relation to ourselves as to our actions in relation to others. On the positive side, it means that we are bound by the law of nature and the Law of God to avoid, as much as we can, all that diminishes our physical vigor and to utilize every reasonable means to maintain our health.

While it is true that by dint of will power a man can rise above bodily infirmity and achieve success in spite of it, the odds are against his doing so. The clear thinking, the disciplined emotion, and the decisive, energetic action that are the qualities of strong character can be maintained

only with great difficulty when the digestive function is impaired, the blood stream polluted, the nerves frayed, and the muscles weak and tired. To be alive economically, socially, culturally, morally, we need to be as much alive as possible physically.

### *Economic Well-being*

To maintain personal integrity, one needs to be in a position to support oneself economically. The freedom of thought and action which is necessary for the development of character requires that measure of control of wealth that is requisite for independence. We need to own, to possess. The right to private property is based on the requirements of our nature.

Now the natural means of acquiring things and coming into possession of property is work. After the Fall, man was sent forth to labor unto the subduing of the earth. In other words, he is obliged to work and, because of that obligation, he has the right to the opportunity to make his own livelihood. He deteriorates morally in the degree that, from choice or from necessity, he becomes a parasite.

Work is at the same time the means of making a livelihood and the secret of making a life. By means of work we garner unto ourselves the wherewithal to obtain the food, shelter, clothing, knowledge, and culture that we need to maintain ourselves in society, securely and with dignity. At the same time, work yields us a stake in life, gives us a sense of mastery, and makes us conscious of belonging, of being productive. From both angles, it contributes to our moral growth and lays the foundation for virtuous living.

Deprive men and women of the right and the opportunity to labor and you reduce their human stature. Not

only are they cut adrift from the moorings of security to be tossed about upon the tides of life, but they come bit by bit to feel themselves inferior. The sense of inferiority saps the foundations of character, and the result is a life poisoned by resentment or drugged by hopelessness. It all adds up to a fundamental loss of self-respect, which means the loss of everything that makes life worthwhile.

*Social Virtue*

From cradle to grave, we live our lives in the midst of other people. We depend on them, and they depend on us, and we can never escape the conditions that this fact imposes upon us. What we are and what we hope to be is conditioned by the exigencies of society.

We grow in personal integrity in the degree that we are socially effective. Human beings belong to one another in God, their Creator, and they are united with Him, the more closely they are united with one another. We are under precept to bear one another's burdens, and we court failure in life if we try to go it alone. If, on the other hand, we are fully aware of our mutual obligations and are as zealous for our neighbor's welfare as we are for our own, we reveal ourselves as children of God growing up unto the stature of Christ, Our Brother.

A good society is one in which men live freely in unity, loving one another, cooperating with one another, acquiring social virtue by practicing it. A bad society is one in which men are herded together, put under compulsion to serve a common purpose, encouraged to distrust and fear one another. A bad society is one in which competition takes the place of cooperation and regimentation functions in lieu of love. A bad society is one in which unity is brought about by authority ruthlessly exer-

cised from above and which disregards concern for mutual well-being gradually rising from below.

The way of voluntary cooperation for the common welfare is the democratic way. It is a way that is arduous and tortuous; it is the far way, the slow way, the way that arrives at long, long last. At first sight, it may seem to be the clumsy way, the halting and stumbling way, when contrasted with the sleek, stream-lined shape of the society which is regimented. But democracy is not and should not be concerned with the mechanization of its processes and the perfection of its external structure. Its glory is not in the precision of its instrumentalities but in the effect of those instrumentalities on individual men and women. The age-old dream that brought it into being was of a social order in which people would mean more than institutions and would have enough freedom to make their own lives. The ideal of democracy is that quality of group living that makes for individual growth and perfection. Its success or failure is to be measured in terms of the personal moral integrity that it engengers. Of course, in a democracy as well as in any other system, there must be authority and the occasional resort to compulsion, but in a free society the authority and compulsion come from within and represent the better nature of those who are governed. Authority is obeyed not because it has force behind it but because it accords with what men and women are convinced is for their general welfare. By living together and working together freely and cooperatively, they acquire the art of living and working together. They are ruled by a spirit that gives life and not by a letter that kills.

Thus considered, democracy is an ideal social order and consequently never has been and never will be adequately achieved in reality; but enough of its promise has been fulfilled and is being fulfilled to justify the risks of in-

efficiency that it involves. No other system can compare with it when it comes to giving schooling in personal development. It provides that atmosphere of freedom in which virtue flourishes best.

*Cultural Development*

The life of man is not encompassed within the limits of the work-a-day. His spirit feels the impulse to soar aloft and find the springs where it can slake its thirst for beauty. Down through the ages, ever growing in richness, has been transmitted the cultural inheritance of the race. The human mind has flowered and the result is Learning and the Arts. The struggle up from the crassness and the ugliness of the primitive has been long and arduous, but its victories prove that man is touched with the divine and has been made only a little less than the angels. It is the responsibility of society to preserve these gains, to enrich them, and to transmit them to the oncoming generation.

Moral perfection is achieved with difficulty when there is a lack of that beauty and fineness of spirit that we call culture. A man who is lowly and unlettered may become a great saint, but his soul will be surcharged with noble tastes and a lofty sense of loveliness. The saint has always been something of the savant, something of the poet, something of the artist, even though he never read a book or scanned a poem or listened to great music. The man or woman whose mind has been ennobled and enriched through contact with the best that humanity has written and sung and painted is sensitive to the lure of the goodness that gives substance to all that is truly beautiful and beautifully true.

If society has the obligation of creating conditions in which people can keep alive and well, can exercise the

right to work and learn how to live together in peace and mutual helpfulness, it has no less an obligation to insure their possession of their cultural heritage. Man does not live by bread alone, and though the ultimate source of his well-being is every word that proceeds from the mouth of God, we need to bear in mind that God speaks wherever the dreams and aspirations of humanity are expressed in noble literature, in deathless music, and in soul-stirring art.

### *Moral Perfection*

The ultimate perfection of human beings is acquired by living a godly life—that is to say, by living a life in conformity with God's Holy Will. Conscience provides us with a norm of thought and action, and its voice is our law. By nature we know that we must avoid evil and do good; what is evil and what is good, we normally determine by the use of our reason. However, since we do not always see things with crystal clearness and our minds are frequently clouded by the mists of error and doubt, we need light from outside ourselves, and that light is vouchsafed in Divine Revelation. The Ten Commandments give us definite directions for the ordering of our lives. They tell us in detail what we have to do and what we have to avoid in order to live in harmony with the fundamental principles of morality.

However, we achieve our full stature as human beings not by living on the fringes of goodness, but by striving to become as good as we possibly can. Not a perfunctory respect for the letter of the Law but a complete dedication to its spirit is our obligation if we are to become all that God expects of us. To reveal to men their full capacity for goodness, God became man. Jesus Christ is Our Redeemer, and by the Sacrifice of the Cross He

made satisfaction for our sins. But He is at the same time our Model, the perfect exemplar of noble human conduct. He is a plan for living and those who heed His invitation to come and follow Him learn how to become not merely good but perfect as their heavenly Father is perfect.

Sanctity is the ideal which all of us are called upon to approximate. It is an ideal that is hard to realize because it requires a quality of thinking and doing that can be maintained only with great and sustained effort. It is living unto God and that means dying unto self. Our lower nature rebels, and its hungers clamor for satisfaction. Our reason approves of the Divine way and our mind is delighted with the Law of God according to the inward man; but there is another law, the creature of sin, which seeks to dominate our flesh and conflicts with our higher impulses. Were we left to our own resources, the struggle would be too much for us, and the result at best would be compromise or moral appeasement. But we have not been left to ourselves. God's power is at hand to strengthen us and to deliver us from evil. Without Him we can do nothing, but in Him and with Him we can do all things. His power is made perfect in our infirmity.

Cooperating with the grace of God, we make progress in moral excellence. We become better and better human beings. Our health, our wealth, our solidarity with others, our culture, all find a real meaning and a rational purpose by reason of the fact that they contribute to progress along the way of moral perfection. The ultimate goal of it all will be reached when we are united for all eternity with God, the Source and the Reason of our existence. Then happiness, perfect and complete, will be our portion. But all along the way we experience a foretaste and a beginning of that ultimate bliss, as our will, strengthened

by God's power, cleaves to the good that our mind, illumined by God's light, discovers for it, the while we refuse to be swerved from our purpose by the lusts of the earthly, physical self.

*Responsibility of Society*

The social and physical environment in which we pass our days may serve either to impede and stunt the development of our personality or to nurture and facilitate it. We are not creatures of our surroundings, completely subject to their compulsion. The human will is free and can prevail in the face of great obstacles. Nevertheless, the environment does act upon us and, if ignoble, for such as are not made of sterner stuff, is likely to become the occasion of degradation and defeat.

When people are ill-housed, deprived of fresh air and sunshine, crowded together in quarters that are unfit for human habitation, they become unhealthy. When they lack an adequate measure of nourishing food and are deprived of medical care, they decline physically and lose the vitality that is necessary for complete and vigorous living. Below par physically, their minds, their emotions, their wills cannot function properly, and they are prevented from developing their potentialities as human beings.

If the industrial and economic system is not organized in a rational manner, if millions who want to work are forced into unemployment, if wages and working conditions are such as to prevent the maintenance of decent standards of living, if lack of sufficient income for today renders futile any planning for the future, people lose hope and tend to sink down into a state of mental and moral stagnation. Life loses its zest and becomes a matter of dulling, stupifying routine.

If people are not allowed to live together freely and naturally, if an all-powerful, all-embracing government rules them with an iron hand, if they have never experienced the joys of cooperating with one another because they lack faith in one another and love for one another, if they are held together by fear and not by a sense of mutual interest and interdependence, their souls wither within them. Living with one another, they are nevertheless isolated from one another, and society loses that organic character which alone can vitalize and ennoble the individuals who compose it.

If cultural standards are progressively lowered by reason of the fact that one generation after another receives less and less of the heritage of the past, if education becomes exclusively practical and work-a-day and has no time for the higher values that reside in philosophy, letters, and the arts, if the taste for beauty becomes depraved through feeding on the crass and the meretricious in literature and art and music, the end result is a progressive vulgarization of life and a sapping of the power to dream dreams. The ugly, the degrading, the sensual work together to brutalize the heart of man. The soul loses contact with the divine, because it is losing contact with what is truly human.

If moral standards are laughed out of court, if the concept of sin is scoffed at, if the prevailing customs put a premium on self-indulgence and mock at self-discipline, if public opinion becomes increasingly tolerant of evil and pampers human weakness, if courses of action win approval because people get away with them, if there is nothing to remind men and women that they are creatures and, as such, are not a law unto themselves, then society sinks slowly but inevitably into decay and the individual personality declines with it. In the degree that men refuse to have God in their knowledge, they are

delivered up to a reprobate sense, and they make their plans and build their cities in vain. No civilization can survive apostasy from God and revolt against His Holy Will. It is doomed to destruction because it prevents human beings from achieving the purpose of their existence.

If a man loves his country, he is going to labor unceasingly to make it fit for human habitation. His patriotism will express itself in a zeal for the amelioration of any and every condition that makes for progressive dehumanization.

As our nation girds itself to withstand the external foe, we dare not lose sight of the foes within. They are many and too often we will discover that they are powerful and firmly entrenched. Malnutrition is a foe, and bad housing and preventable physical illness and disease. Unemployment is a foe, and lack of security and starvation wages. Sectionalism is a foe, and discrimination for reasons of race, or religion, or color, or exploitation in any form. Neglect of higher values is a foe, and preoccupation with those things which are sensual and of the earth earthy. Irreligion is a foe, and the philosophy which makes man the final end of all things and sets him up against his Creator.

If these foes prevail, democracy, no matter how well armed, will perish, for it will lack men and women noble enough, selfless enough, human enough to preserve it. But men and women worthy of the name will not let these foes prevail.

## IV

## THE CRADLE OF CITIZENSHIP

A SOCIAL order is sound and healthy when family life is sound and healthy. The home is the basic unit in society and, unless it is adequately protected and adequately protects itself, group life disintegrates. Nothing else can take its place, and the first stage in the deterioration of a nation is the deterioration of the home.

The home is the garden in which the seeds of virtue are sown and where their first sprouting is tenderly nurtured. There, in an atmosphere of love and affection, the child learns from experience that self-control and self-discipline bring happiness. There, because he comes to appreciate the advantages of solidarity, he becomes progressively social minded. Home life reveals to him the fundamental truth that we cannot get along without one another and that peace and contentment are born of subordinating personal whim and caprice to the welfare of the group.

### *The Basis of Family Life*

The period during which human beings are dependent upon their parents lengthens as civilization develops and reaches newer heights. The wider the gap between the potentialities of our raw and unschooled nature and the abilities that are required for life in a cultured society, the longer must be the period of preparation. If all that the young were required to master were a few items of rudimentary knowledge and the rough skills that would suffice to meet the challenge of a semi-savage existence,

they could shift for themselves at a very early age. On the contrary, when life becomes exceedingly complex and when much learning must be mastered and a great sweep of culture acquired, many years must pass before a human being can be brought abreast of his times. This period of preparation is of the utmost importance not only as far as personal well-being is concerned, but likewise from the point of view of social progress. If oncoming generations are to push forward and upward to greater heights of civilization, they must be solidly established on the level that humanity has thus far attained.

This being so, it stands to reason that the institution which nature has ordained to care for the young during the term of their dependency must be strong and stable and adequately equipped to perform its vital functions. If it is built on the shifting sands of sensuality and selfishness, if it stands or falls on the caprice of parents who do not know what parenthood means, home life loses all seriousness and continuity and fails in its purpose.

Marriage is a solemn and holy undertaking wherein a man and woman bind themselves for life to cling together in mutual love and faithfulness and to provide in every way for the welfare of the children who may bless their love. Until death parts them, they belong to one another; should either one prove unfaithful to the vows that have been taken and attempt marriage with another, a crime has been committed against the Law of God. "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

When a man and woman marry, they enter upon a venture that calls for constant self-sacrifice. From their mutual love they derive the courage to merge their individual wills in the common endeavor of establishing a family. They no longer live to themselves alone. Their love will inspire them and bear them up, but even so the going frequently will be hard and the burden will weigh

heavily upon them. Our Saviour raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament, that those who receive it might have strength from on High to cleave to one another in spite of every difficulty, in good times and bad, in riches or in poverty, in sickness or in health, "until death do them part."

One of the surest signs of decadence in a nation is the prevalence of divorce. No other symptom reveals so infallibly the presence of a deadly virus in the social organization. That virus is the egoism that makes social cohesion impossible. Those afflicted with it lose all sense of responsibility to anything save their own desires. Inevitably they follow the dictates of self-interest and scorn the common welfare. Faithless in all else, they will prove faithless in marriage, and the result will be divorce.

The innocent victims of divorce are the children. Their home is broken, and they are cut loose from their moorings at a tender age and left largely to the drift of circumstance. They sense the abnormality of their position and know that there is something fine in life to which they are strangers. They may be cared for adequately from a material standpoint, but they never succeed in obtaining what would have been theirs, had their parents been civilized enough to steer their marriage away from the rocks.

Children are the fundamental reason for the existence of the institution of matrimony, which in the Providence of God was designed to be the means of perpetuating the race. Hence there is cause for real concern for the future when men and women marry and decide that children do not matter, or at least do not matter as much as their own comfort and convenience. Life is the holiest thing on earth, and the human race is on the down-grade when, in order to enjoy what they mistake for abundance of

life, people deliberately deprive others of the chance to live at all.

The excuse that economic conditions will not admit of having a family has no validity. The argument that it is wrong to bring children into the world if they cannot be guaranteed a decent living is specious. Economic conditions can and should be changed. The true solution of the problem is to be found not in attempting to adjust the laws of nature to the economic system but in adjusting the economic system to the dictates of reason and reason's God.

## *The Care of Children*

By nature, the responsibility for the upbringing of children rests on parents, and for that reason to them belongs the primary right to determine how their offspring are to be prepared for life. The home is not self-sufficient; it needs the help of other institutions, above all of the Church and the State, to discharge its responsibilities. Roughly, the care of children has three phases. First, there is nurture, the process whereby the child, thanks to adequate food and clothing and sheltering care, grows toward physical maturity. Secondly, there is guidance, the process whereby the child is led and counseled and directed toward making the proper personal adjustments to the conditions of living. Thirdly, there is culture, which transmits to the oncoming generation the social, intellectual, and moral inheritance of the race.

In a primitive or pioneer society all three of these phases of child care would devolve upon the home. Such was the case in the days that preceded the Industrial Revolution. The family was self-subsistent; it supplied for itself all the things that it needed. When industry went out of the home and concentrated in the factory, when

the emphasis in agriculture shifted from farming for use to farming for profit, the resultant division of labor and differentiation of functions forced the family to depend on agencies outside of itself. The father, and oftentimes the mother and the children, was forced to seek gainful employment outside of the home. No longer were the things necessary for home consumption produced through the creative efforts of the family, but they had to be purchased on the outside with money received as wages.

All of this served to change the whole character of family life and living and to deprive the home of much of its effectiveness as an instrument for an all-round education. Within the family circle, children could no longer enjoy the full round of experience necessary to develop them for complete living. The school grew in importance, and more and more of the preparation of life was obtained in classrooms. Trades came to be mastered through apprenticeship in factories. Education and recreation were sought in the community, for the most part from sources that made a profit by providing them. The home degenerated bit by bit into just a house to which the members of the family repaired only when they were in need of food and rest.

The rehabilitation of the home and its restoration as a vital force in social life is among the first things that must be done if we hope to maintain and develop a healthy nation and to preserve our heritage of freedom. In the measure that family living declines, society gradually loses its organic character and the nation becomes a conglomeration of human atoms disunited and bereft of any sense of belonging. They can be held together only in a mechanistic manner by force, since they have no basic experience upon which to found a feeling for the common good. They may be collected together by some form of collectivism;

they cannot grow together into that unity which is the fruit of voluntary effort motivated by love.

It is dangerous defeatism to take it for granted that, because the home has lost so much of its one-time influence, it is bound to lose it all. Such defeatism exhibits itself in the contemporary tendency of such agencies as the school, organizations for public welfare, or government in general to take over functions that by nature belong to the family.

There is a universally accepted principle of education known as the Law of Self-Activity. We learn to do by doing. It is bad pedagogical procedure for a teacher to spoon-feed the child in the classroom; he develops by accepting responsibility himself and performing his own tasks. It is bad social practice to divest any institution of its functions. We weaken the home by transferring its responsibilities elsewhere, and at the same time we sap the inward strength of the individual members of the family if we deprive them of the opportunity to work out on their own in union with those they love the problems that life in society sets for them.

It is the primary function of the school to transmit culture; for that purpose it was created and its province is that world of things that we call academic. In this province the home can exercise but a small competence. The common essentials that must be mastered by everyone who expects to get along in life these days are too extensive to be taught around the family hearth. Children must go to school, and the more complex civilization becomes, the longer they must stay in school.

However, this does not justify society in taking over, through the school, all other phases of education. The physical care of children, their guidance and direction, their recreation are responsibilities of the home. In these fields no school can ever hope to match the competence of in-

telligent parents. Incidentally, the more of this territory the school invades, the less able it is to maintain its own cultural position, and the result may well be that the nation will be deprived of the learning and the intelligence which guarantee the survival of civilization.

### *Economic Status of the Home*

In order to perform its functions successfully, the home must be properly housed and in control of enough wealth to maintain standards of living that are worthy of human beings. Decent home life is impossible in a tenement, an alley dwelling, or a share-cropper's shack. If there is a constant struggle to obtain the mere necessities of life because family income is at a subsistence level or below it, hopelessness and degradation are bound to set in. If it is impossible to procure adequate food, parents will find that they cannot safeguard the health of their children. The same is true when there is no fresh air and sunlight and the surroundings are filthy and unsanitary.

"Every effort must be made," wrote Pius XI in the Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno,* "that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced *without delay* which will guarantee every adult workingman just such a wage."

It is tragic to note that in this rich country family income has not been sufficient to provide adequately for perhaps one-half of our people. Many of our population are living on the verge of want, and some of them in dire need. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the home breaks down and that public agencies are forced to come to its rescue. Yet we dare not forget that the real remedy is not an increase of such public assistance,

but rather an industrial about-face that will make for a more just and equitable distribution of our national wealth.

*The Housing of the Home*

A home to be worthy of its name must be properly housed. Virtue does not as a rule thrive in a hovel. Health and happiness are not bred in crowded tenements. Poetry to the contrary notwithstanding, the place may be altogether too humble to merit the title, "home, sweet home."

Society has an obligation to do something about housing. We cannot afford to wait until some time, in some manner, present conditions may remedy themselves. Not only should the nation be properly housed, but every thing possible should be done to enable people to own the houses in which they live. Plans undertaken by society either through government or private agencies to bring about this consummation are evidence that our collective conscience is at last asserting itself and demanding action. A nation of tenants floating about on the land and in the cities without roots anywhere is a proletarian nation, a nation of propertyless nomads, which is a condition not far removed from pauperism. Such a nation has no future, for its citizens are dispossessed and have no stake in it. They lack for any national motive to defend it or make sacrifices for its perpetuation.

*Culture in the Home*

Adequate physical facilities serve but to set the stage for happy home life; the quality of action depends upon the players. Each member of the family has his own role and, if he fails to play it effectively, the production is marred. Home is more than a place; it is a state of things,

a condition of affairs that is created by noble human endeavor.

The hunger for beauty is innate in the human heart; things that are lovely attract us, whereas the ugly repels. We feel an urge to flee from surroundings that are drab and unpleasant; we are uncomfortable in an atmosphere that outrages our aesthetic sense. The family will be kept at home if everything about it suggests comfort and good taste.

Food to be palatable must be judiciously chosen, well prepared, and properly served. A room is good to stay in when the decorations and arrangements are attractive. Details such as this may seem trivial when the discussion has to do with the making of a better society. Yet they are tremendous trivialities whose import we neglect at our peril. They deeply affect individual men and women and children and condition their ideas, their attitudes, and their habits.

Homemaking is an art and hence needs to be acquired. It will not be acquired if there is no conscience for it. One of the principal aims of education, whether at home or in the school, should be to form such a conscience and at the same time impart the skills that are necessary to implement it. The most beautiful house in the world can be converted into a rookery by inefficient housekeeping. Souls are not nourished into greatness in the midst of disarray, discomfort, and disorder.

## *Education in the Home*

In the final analysis, the most important function of the home is education. What happens to the children must always be the first concern of the family. Not only must they be kept alive, but they must learn how to live.

Everything that happens to them in the home has a formative value for weal or for woe.

The attitude of the young toward health, toward work, toward recreation, toward culture, and toward morals is in large measure the by-product of normal daily activities in the home environment. It is not so much by means of direct instruction as by personal influence and example and the give and take of domestic routine that the family educates. Its atmosphere conditions the thinking, feeling, and acting of its members. So true is this that throughout life people never quite succeed in emancipating themselves from the effects of living at home. One may rise above the influences which governed his childhood or he may fall below them, but he will always have to reckon with them.

*Parental Authority*

Group life presupposes good order, and good order means discipline. Some one must be vested with authority, and that authority must be obeyed. Call it fair play, if you like, or cooperation or group consciousness; what you really mean is obedience. It is the virtue that makes for cohesiveness in society. If we never acquire it, we never become properly adjusted to life. If it is strong within us, we can always be depended upon to be good citizens and good neighbors.

The Scriptures tell us that it is good for a man to have borne the yoke from his youth. He must be broken to it in the home. The process there is a loving one, a kind one, one that binds that it may loose, that fetters that it may free. Authority is discovered to be a helping thing, a thing that lights the way to the true fulfillment of desire. It shares a richer experience and spares us the misery of making unnecessary mistakes.

Parental authority is the organizing principle in the home; as such, it is the organizing principle in society. The cell that is the family disintegrates for lack of it, and as a consequence the entire body politic is poisoned. From the point of view of moral education, parental authority is the most potent instrument in all the world.

Good order under any circumstances means the order which best conduces to the success of the undertaking under consideration. Order which is good for an army is not the order desired in a church. The discipline that is necessary in a prison is not suited to a playground. Authority must be exercised according to sound reason if it is to justify itself.

Parents do not own their children. God owns them, and He is a loving Father. Parents have no right to tyrannize over their children or to use them for their own purposes. The child is a human being and has rights of his own which father and mother must respect. Society has the obligation of intervening when children are abused in the home or deprived of those things which are their due. The child is commanded by the Law of God to disobey his parents when they order him to do what is wrong. Obedience does not mean that we sacrifice ourselves to the arbitrary and irrational.

However, in all things that are right and just, children must learn to honor their fathers and their mothers. This implies that parents must be aware of what is right and just and maintain an abiding sense of their responsibilities. They need to bear in mind the purpose they are supposed to achieve, which is to prepare their boys and girls to became good members of society by becoming good men and women. What is expected of good men and women parents are in a position to know and to be aware of the challenges which must be met. The discipline they maintain should conduce to the development of the powers of

self-control and self-direction that must be exercised by free men and free women in a free society.

The appeal should be made to the understanding of the child. He should come to see for himself the reason for the restraints that are put upon him. Father and mother should cooperate with him in working out his problems and his difficulties. Human nature being what it is, stringent measures will have to be resorted to from time to time. Even in such cases, there should be such a community of mind between parent and child as will prevent even the severest punishmnt from generating resentment or any lasting permanent dislike. Moral education in the home is at its best when from babyhood the young are made to feel that they are cooperating in the making of the home, working with their parents and not for them, doing the right thing not out of fear but out of love.

### *The Home and National Welfare*

The making of a home is a serious undertaking fraught with tremendous consequences to the individual and to the group. Married life requires the sacrifice of personal freedom and involves countless difficulties and annoyances. It demands of both husband and wife real love; romantic sentimentality will not do. Love is an act of the will cleaving to the good revealed to it by the reason and not a mere emotion evoked by something that appeals to the senses. When faced with the stark realities of life, sentiment and emotionalism vanish into thin air.

A nation can defend itself against the peril of the crumbling home only in the degree that it produces men and women who are serious about matrimony and have enough intelligence and character to assume its obligations in all humility, realizing that they need the help of God. Marriages based on passion, marriages of conveni-

ence, marriages entered into as a lark are more dangerous by far to the American Way of life than all the forces of tyranny that the world can muster, for they sap at the very foundation of our institutions and render fragile the only true support of national greatness.

The home is the keystone in the arch of our desired national greatness. It should be the first item on the agenda for developing the full potentialities of our democracy. It is the normal place for recruiting men and women of sufficient moral stature to be true Americans. Its protection and improvement and, where necessary, its rehabilitation is a challenge to our intelligence, our courage, and our high resolve.

# V

## "OUR DAILY BREAD"

"HOW good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." When people are united in bonds of mutual consideration and respond to the promptings of a common interest, they attract happiness and contentment. Love conditions them for success, and they are blessed of God. Though society is not an organism in the same sense as is the human body, there is an analogy none the less. We are members one of another, cells in the same body, and we keep healthy and fully alive by functioning in vital union with the group.

Whatever sunders the bonds of human brotherhood and sets people against one another is evil. It is the spawn of that sundering of man from his God which took place in the beginning of history and which we know as Original Sin. When humanity decided to be sufficient unto itself and flouted the Divine Law, a centrifugal force was introduced into society. Christ came "to gather up the things that were scattered," and to endow men and women with the power, if they cared to use it, to unite once more with one another in God. The purpose of the Incarnation was to restore all things according to the eternal plan. It was not to be a forced restoration but one which would be accomplished by human beings themselves working freely with the grace that was in them.

Christianity was never intended to work automatically, but through the rational understanding and willing cooperation of mankind. Its goals will only be attained in the fullness of time. The effects of the revolt of our

First Parents are ingrained in us and their self-centering power persists.

Hence are the cleavages among us that render it difficult for us to reach a common mind and to muster a common will—cleavages based on race and creed, cleavages caused by nationality, cleavages between rich and poor, worker and employer, producer and consumer, farmer and city dweller. Barriers rise which separate brother from brother and keep apart what should be kept together —barriers that prevent the most of us from enjoying what belongs to all of us.

Man sustains his physical life and well-being by making use of the resources of nature. The earth is stocked with the things that he needs if he would provide himself with food, clothing, and shelter. It yields the raw materials, and his skill transforms them into articles suited for human use. Having a rational intelligence, he can foresee future needs and contingencies, and he makes provision for the morrow. Natural resources, human toil and skill, and the storing up of the reserves that we have come to call capital are the basic elements in economic life.

There is in the world enough of all that the human race needs to make ample provision for every man, woman, and child at any moment of history; yet at no moment of history has such provision been made. One reason for this is that only slowly and laboriously does man acquire the knowledge of the laws of nature that he needs in order to develop his skill and ingenuity. Another reason is that the geographical position of the people does not always correspond with the geographical position of natural resources.

In this day and age, tremendous progress has been made both in the acquisition of skill and in the elimination of the barrier of distance. No longer are we forced to wrest our sustenance from the soil with our bare hands. The

first crude tools that men learned how to fashion have been transformed into instruments of astounding effectiveness and marvelous precision. Science has transformed the powers of nature that held our ancestors in the thralldom of fear into beneficient auxiliaries that bring us freedom for a larger life. Modern technology affords us almost complete access to the riches stored up in the bosom of the earth.

At the same time we have gone far toward bringing close to men the things they need. Means of transportation and communication have been marvelously developed until no place is any longer far away and no part of the human family completely isolated. The mines of Africa supply the needs of those who dwell in a New England village, and the merchandise of London finds its way into the fastnesses of Manchuria.

Meanwhile we have amassed riches far beyond our needs, and these emancipate us from the here and now and enable us to provide for the future. We have abundant capital to invest in a grander tomorrow. Surpluses have been accumulated, surpluses of scientific knowledge, surpluses of wealth of every description, that wait to serve in a fuller measure the manifold wants of human beings.

Yet in spite of it all, the majority of men and women the world over are still living precariously on the verge of starvation and some below it, and fighting a losing battle against the forces of nature. Uncounted multitudes share hardly at all in the better fortune of their more favored fellow men. For such as these there is no point in planning for the future. The clamoring needs of the moment are barely satisfied.

There is great plenty of everything in the world. There is abundant manpower and skill to process it for human use; there is enough surplus capital to underwrite expansion. Yet men and women languish in want; child-

ren grow up ill-fed, ill-clothed, and sunk in ignorance; the sick beg in vain for medical care; and multitudes live like animals because they cannot afford to live like human beings.

Even in this land of ours where nature has been so lavish in her gifts and where the political institutions have fostered the development of technological genius, want exists side by side with plenty, and "across the tracks" from the delights of fine living we discover the needy and the poor. Politically, all citizens of the United States are equal, and their right before the law of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is guaranteed. From the economic standpoint, there is nothing approaching equality. For too many of us life is a burden, liberty a sham, and real happiness an unknown experience, because the portion of the national income that trickles down to those in the lower brackets scarcely suffices for their existence.

The explanation of this paradox is that generally the world over, and in our country in particular, men and women, as far as their economic life is concerned, are not working together for the common good. The system that supplies their physical needs has been geared up in terms of Individualism, and a premium has been put on personal greed. The industrial system has developed on the basis of exclusiveness, and as a result barriers have been erected between class and class, group and group, nation and nation. Obstacles have been put in the way of the free flow of goods, of labor, and of capital, with the consequence that those who should be conscious of a common interest are inspired by mutual distrust and fear. In place of cooperation toward the largest measure of welfare for all, there is competition for the purpose of selfish aggrandizement at the expense of others.

It is an unfortunate fact that Individualism in the eco-

nomic sphere is too generally taken for granted as an essential element in democracy. It is even claimed that the acceptance of the postulate that economic processes always work out to the best interest of the larger number as long as they are not interfered with is the reason for democracy and that free political institutions are the creations of laissez-faire economics. This confusion leads to unfortunate results, since many who are poignantly aware of the injustices and inequalities that modern capitalism has engendered conclude that the system is at hopeless variance with the aspirations of mankind. They come to regard democracy as a plutocratic device for lulling the masses into unawareness of the fact that they are being exploited. As a consequence, such as these turn leftward and greet the advent of Communism as the dawn of a better day.

Communism attracts people because it promises to level barriers and to insure for all men an access on an equal basis to the things that they need. It proposes to abolish the class distinctions which distort the course of the flow of wealth. Its accent is on the idea of community, and it promises to restore human brotherhood. All of this, according to Communism, can be accomplished by a common ownership of property and the instruments of production, operating under a dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the unity envisaged by Communism is a specious thing and based on a crass concept of human nature. It makes the untenable assumption that man lives by bread alone and that material security is all that matters. It dismisses higher spiritual value as a snare and a delusion and regards the individual as meaningless save in reference to the progress of the group. It would unite people by degrading them; they would live their lives in common not as brothers but as slaves, not as members one of another but as cogs in a machine.

This much at least can be said for Individualism and the

capitalistic system which it created—in theory at any rate, it recognizes the dignity of the human personality. All too frequently, its practice has been a tragic contradiction of its creed. The vice of Individualism has not been its defense of the individual and his rights, but rather its failure to recognize that the individual means *every* individual and its neglect of the fact that for each of his rights there is a corresponding duty, and that his personal prosperity is inextricably bound up with social welfare.

The salvation of modern society does not require the substitution for democracy of some other system, be it Communism, Fascism, or National Socialism; as a matter of fact, the only remedy for democracy's ills is more democracy.

We can make progress toward peace and unity in the economic order and the elimination of conflict and hatred only by working together unselfishly as free men and free women intent on achieving by common effort that individual perfection which is the purpose of our existence. With all its failures, our American Democracy has richly succeeded. Together with our rich natural resources, it has yielded the common people a standard of living unequaled elsewhere in the world, whose way of life has enabled them to develop traits and qualities that reflect an essential decency and nobility of character. We admit we should have done better; events are making us increasingly aware of our shortcomings. Our democracy has failed, but it is not a failure. It has failed because we have not understood its economic implications. That understanding we need to accomplish if the freedoms we cherish are to survive.

Among the fundamental things we need to understand are these:

The place and function of private ownership
The place and function of free enterprise
The place and function of labor
The place and function of agriculture
The secret of developing democracy in our industrial life to square with democracy in our political life.

*Private Ownership*

The right to own belongs to us by nature. Unless we possess a reasonable share of the goods of the earth, we are deprived of that measure of stability that is necessary for the proper development of personality. Christian teaching has always upheld the right to private property; voluntary poverty which sacrifices that right is a counsel of perfection intended for those who freely embrace it.

However, in the exercise of our right to ownership, we are subject to the limits which arise from our responsibilities as members of society. As far as other people are concerned, it is not a good thing for any individual to own too much; at the same time the happiness and well-being of the group are affected by the use that one makes of the things which he owns. In other words, property is intended to minister to the needs not of the owner alone, but to the well-being of society as a whole.

Gross inequality in the distribution of wealth makes for the concentration of economic power in the hands of a favored few with the consequent pauperization of the masses. The things that all men need come under the control of a minority which all too easily succumbs to the temptation of trading on human necessity and ministering unto its own aggrandizement. All imperceptibly there

eventuates a condition of affairs that negates democracy and amounts in fact to a dictatorship of wealth.

The Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno,* bears witness to the evil effects of the concentration of wealth in the following striking passage: "It is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure.

"This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will.

"This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest, which often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience.

"This concentration of power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then, the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggles; finally, the clash between States themselves.

"This latter arises from two causes: because the nations apply their power and political influence, regardless of circumstances, to promote the economic advantages of their citizens; and because, vice versa, economic forces and economic domination are used to decide political controversies between peoples."

Modern times have seen the development of great corporations whose control of capital has enabled them to develop man's productive capacity and to organize the distribution of goods on a scale that has revolutionized every phase of life and living. The cost of articles for consumption has been reduced to the degree that comforts and conveniences that kings and potentates never dreamed of are enjoyed by the average man. Labor-saving devices, cheaper means of transportation, opportunities for diversion and entertainment, nourishing food in a wide variety, comfortable and attractive clothing have been made available to more and more people at a price within the reach of their pocketbooks. Technology has multiplied the comforts of living, eliminated no end of drudgery, enlarged the environment, and in countless ways enriched daily living.

All of this is good. There is no particular virtue in drudgery; the less reason there is for human beings to be careful and troubled about the many things that are involved in the struggle for existence, the more energy they will have for accomplishing the one thing necessary—namely, the saving of their souls.

However, the picture has its darker side. The fault is not with what has been accomplished but with the methods that have been used and the dislocations of the normal processes of society that have been caused. The structure of the modern corporation is founded on an abuse of the right of private ownership, and whilst it has brought the individual a large measure of freedom from material cares, it deprives him of a more important freedom and subjects him to lords and masters whom he does not know and from whom it is next to impossible for him to obtain redress.

In this country we have laws intended to restrict monopoly, but at the same time a fiction of the law recognizes corporations as persons. Aggregations of wealth under a corporate charter are granted the rights that belong to personal ownership although by their very nature they are impersonal and anonymous. Those whose money makes the corporation possible have little or no control over its activities and cannot be held accountable for its conduct. The result is that, despite the law and the statute books, monopolistic processes flourish and economic power becomes centralized in fewer and fewer hands.

It is futile to claim, as some apologists do, that great corporations are democratic because of the large number of their stockholders. Some investors do retain control, hence, the average man who invests his money in a large business venture no longer really owns that money. Ownership implies control, and he has no control over the use to which his funds are put. He has no voice in the management of the business, and it is precisely this divorce between ownership and management that is the cause of so much that is anti-social in contemporary economic life.

The modern corporation must be brought under social control if we hope to make any progress in the reform of contemporary society. Ownership must be made responsible. Stockholders as well as managers are liable in conscience for the kind of wages, hours, and working conditions which obtain in an industry. They must be held to this accountability. As members of society, they are their brother's keeper, and they dare not allow their money to be used unto his undoing. They have the right to own, but they are bound to use this right in conformity with the standards of justice.

This brings up the whole question of freedom of enterprise and its place in a rationally organized society. It stands to reason, of course, that there should be wide room for individual initiative and that people should be free to choose the profession, the business, or the trade which attracts them and for which they feel fit. Anything short of this would amount to regimentation with its consequent frustrations.

However, the privilege of free enterprise may not be appealed to in order to justify competition as the organizing principle of economic life. Uncontrolled competition is contrary to Christian ethics and stands condemned on its own record, for it ranges individual against individual, group against group, private interests against public authority, and sows the seeds of international discord and war.

As an antidote to monopolistic tendencies, untrammeled competition is a failure. As a matter of fact, it leads to monopoly, for under the operation of the law of tooth and claw to which it appeals, weaker economic units, such as the small business man and the individual farmer, are unable to survive and are swallowed up by the more powerful. It fosters in the hearts of men and women unlovely traits highly dangerous to peaceful social living. It exalts ruthlessness, sharp practice, indifference to human values, and selfishness of every description. Its gospel is success at any price. It is the negation of all that is implied in the Sermon on the Mount.

No man and no combination of men have the right to seek prosperity at the expense of the common welfare. God gave his earth and its riches to all of us, and it is not to be exploited by an irresponsible lust for private gain. Largely because of a too wide acceptance of the principle

of Individualism, the people of the United States find themselves faced today with a conservation problem. Great fortunes have been amassed and mighty financial and industrial empires developed in such a way as to leave the nation a heritage of denuded forests, sterile soil, and depleted sources of power. The blithe assumption that, as long as we hew to the line of personal success, the chips will fall in the nature of a benediction on our fellow man has proven empty. In the midst of contemporary world turmoil and domestic confusion, we are learning in the hard way that society must put brakes on competition and that, if it is to survive, capitalism must be shorn of its individualism and made to submit to social controls.

*Labor*

From the beginning, the labor classes have born the brunt of the evils that followed in the wake of Industrial Revolution. Men, women, and even children were forced to go outside the home to earn a livelihood, work under conditions that were none of their making, and accept whatever was offered them in the way of wages. Labor was regarded as a commodity to be purchased at the lowest possible price. Little concern was felt for the welfare of the individual worker; there were always plenty more like him on the market.

It seems a far cry to the terrible plight of the working class during the early part of the last century; yet it is not so far after all, which only proves that, when the social conscience of the race begins to voice itself insistently, much can be accomplished in a short time. Agitation led to attention, attention brought about understanding, understanding made for legislation, and legislation brought to the worker a substantial, although not completely adequate, protection from exploitation. At

the end of the nineteenth century, the voice of a great Pope, Leo XIII, was raised in behalf of those who toiled, and his Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* inspired an acceleration of reform. Forty years later, Pius XI reminded the world that much remains to be done and that it has not as yet achieved a fundamental reform of its economic ways. He set down the guide lines which must be followed if the worker is to enjoy the rights which belong to him as a human being.

Goods are produced for human consumption not by industry alone, nor by labor alone, but by both working together. Capital would be helpless without the implementation of labor, and labor could not find employment were it not for capital. The industrial undertaking requires mutual understanding and cooperation. The first charge on an industrial enterprise is wages.

Wages are not the price which buys labor; they should represent the worker's rightful share in the fruits of a joint undertaking. For the welfare of society they must be constant and sufficient for the maintenance of the worker and his family in circumstances that comport with human dignity. They are not constant when employment, due to a faulty functioning of the economic system, fluctuates and forces labor to remain idle and unpaid. Nothing more than the persistence of unemployment reveals the defects of the capitalistic system.

These defects are amenable to remedy; they do not indicate that the system must be uprooted and supplanted by something else. The way out is not revolution but evolution. The worker must maintain his freedom. This he can do only if he organizes. Under present conditions, he is at a disadvantage when he enters into a contract with an employer who happens to be a corporation. Such a contract is not truly free. There must be collective bargaining through a union by representatives freely chosen

by the membership. Through organization labor is in a position to make its power felt and to demand its just share, on defensible terms, of the earnings of industry.

Unfortunately, reason and common sense do not always preside over the relations of employer and labor any more than they do over other human relationships. Peaceful deliberations around the table often fail to bring about agreement, and labor is forced to resort to that form of pressure that we call the strike. It is a court of last resort and should not be appealed to lightly. However, when wages, hours, and working conditions are clearly against the canons of social justice and employers refuse to bargain collectively, the worker has no other alternative; and when it is evident that the benefits to be gained outweigh the losses that will be incurred, he has the right to strike. However, the use of violence against persons and property is never justified.

Labor has its duties as well as its rights and must keep in mind the welfare of the community. The consequences of its decisions affect persons and interests who may be regarded as innocent bystanders.

Like every other human institution, organized labor has its record of mistakes and wrongdoings. In the main, however, its history is a noble one and its achievements inspiring. Were it not for the unions, we would not at the moment be glimpsing the first rosy promise of the dawn of a better day in our industrial relations. Wages have been increased, hours of labor lessened, and working conditions vastly improved with beneficent effects upon every other phase of life. There is still a long way to go. The ideal of a more unified and better integrated society will be realized in the degree that working men and working women come to participate in the profits of industry and share in the responsibility of ownership and management. A relationship would thus be established

based on mutual concern to supersede one that is distinguished by distrust and suspicion and at best amounts to an armed truce.

## *Agriculture*

The basic industry in any nation is agriculture. Before all else, a people must be adequately fed, and those who are engaged in providing for this necessity must be fully rewarded for their efforts. The fortunes of industry, labor, and agriculture are bound up in a vital intimacy; they rise and fall together. The standards of living of the rural population are reflected in their buying power. When they have money to spend, the wheels of industry turn and the curve of employment rises.

No other group in our population feels the impact of economic fluctuations more immediately and more directly than do our farmers. They are at the mercy of a multitude of circumstances, and gaining a livelihood is for them always more or less a gamble. The price they obtain for their crops is determined far away on the basis of world conditions. It may so happen that their very diligence may impoverish them, as when the earth yields up its fullness only to glut the market.

There are great natural advantages to living on the land, but in the United States today these advantages are largely canceled by the workings of our industrial system. Too many farmers are hard put to make a go of it, and as a consequence our rural population is denied many of the conveniences that are enjoyed by city dwellers. The result is a tendency to desert the farm and migrate toward the large centers of population where opportunity seems more abundant.

A farm can be too small to justify itself from an economic standpoint, in which case it is sold, perhaps for

taxes, and becomes part of a larger domain. The number of tenant farmers increases to take the place of those who worked for themselves. Increasingly agriculture becomes mechanized and men are supplanted by machines. Steadily the number of private owners decreases, and the control of the land passes into the hands of the few. Because farm labor is not organized, it is at the mercy of the employer who, if he has no social conscience, is quite content to allow it to sink to the level of the sharecropper.

The solution, of course, is not socialization of the land under the authority of government or the introduction of communal ownership. Rather it is the restoration of conditions which will make it possible for a man to own enough land to make for himself and his family a reasonable living and a happy life. In no other department of our national life is it more imperative that there be a wider distribution of private ownership. A civilization has no roots at all if it is not rooted in the soil. History proves that nations begin to die when people desert the land and swarm into cities; but, when remaining on the land means accepting the status of peasants, people will pack up their belongings and seek their fortune elsewhere in spite of all the persuasion in the world.

## *Economic Democracy*

Perhaps the picture of economic life drawn in these pages may seem altogether too dark and gloomy. Be that as it may, we believe it reveals the truth. However, because the present aspect is dark and gloomy, it does not follow that the outlook is hopeless. The very fact that there is in truth a brighter side to all these things proves that we have not dreamed and labored in vain and that democracy can solve its problems in a democratic way.

If what we see transpiring in other lands teaches us anything at all, it is that it is not worth the trouble to try to solve them on any other basis.

In order to make American life and living conform in all things to the ideal we cherish of a free system, there must be unity of action based on a community of interest. All of us, regardless of creed, race, occupation, or the section of the country in which we live, depend upon one another. This mutual interdependence becomes increasingly apparent. Our land is large in extent, but it is next to impossible for anyone to isolate himself within its confines. The fortunes of the East are affected by the fortunes of the West, and the prosperity of the South is of vital concern to the North. Industry and agriculture, labor and capital, distributor and consumer, all are caught up in the same web of circumstances. There is no way out for one unless it is the way out for all.

There has been too much special pleading going on in our midst and too much separatist endeavor. We unite with those who cherish the same particular interests that we do and then proceed to press our case. The result is the emergence of a whole array of associations and organizations representing the interests of special groups and giving little thought to the common good. Financiers, manufacturers, farmers, workers, teachers, business and professional men, artists, scientists, all exert pressure upon government and the public at large in order to force recognition of their demands.

The evil does not consist in the fact that there are such groups; it is necessary that they exist as they are salutary for society. What is blameworthy is that they carry their group loyalties too far, become too exclusive, and lose sight of the common endeavor that all of us should be promoting.

When we say that the existence of groups is salutary for society, we have in mind the fact that without them the individual would be at the mercy of an all-embracing State and would have no adequate means of asserting his rights and voicing his predilections. Democracy is supposed to preserve the individual from becoming the creature of government and to encourage him to discover instrumentalities for the ordering of his relationship with his neighbor on an extra-governmental plane. Voluntary associations are a means to this end.

However, such associations must understand their true function and exhibit an enlightened statesmanship in the conduct of their affairs. They must see themselves as parts of a whole and work to achieve their own special aim in such a way as to contribute to the general welfare. A united nation does not mean a nation in which special interests have no place; it means a nation in which such interests are advanced in line with the common good.

A pattern for cooperative action on the part of the occupational groups which represent the various economic orders in modern society is suggested in the Encyclical Letter, *Quadragesimo Anno.* Instead of competing with one another and warring to the hilt to advance the interests of the class they represent, those within the groups would regard themselves as partners in a common enterprise and, without losing one whit of their autonomy, govern the affairs of their occupation so that advantage in due measure would accrue to all concerned. Thus in any given industry, labor, management, those concerned with distribution, as well as the consumer, would have a free voice in the conduct of affairs. Government would cooperate, but not dominate; its function would be one of general supervision for the good of the public at large. It would not dictate the appointment of those who served on the councils, nor would it direct the activities accord-

ing to some prearranged plan of its own. The very essence of the Pope's scheme is voluntary action. It would avoid at one and the same time the domination of society by financially powerful minorities that Individualism brings about through ruthless competition and the enslavement that eventuates when the State assumes control.

Of course, no reorganization of society will succeed if it is merely external. The noblest social machinery that the most enlightened thinking might devise would not be proof against the sabotage of selfishness and personal greed. A plan such as the Pope envisaged depends for its success on radical changes in the prevailing attitudes of men and women. It calls for a return to Christianity. Christ promised that His Truth would make men free, but it will only emancipate them if they practice it. The precepts and the practices that are generally accepted nowadays have little in common with the Sermon on the Mount. The Beatitudes, with their glorification of poverty of spirit, meekness, mourning, hunger and thirst for higher things, and readiness to welcome persecution, sound strange and incomprehensible to the contemporary ear. They rest on the principle that man was made for union with God and that success in life is achieved by divesting oneself of everything that impedes this consummation. Modern civilization is largely based on a repudiation of this point of view. At least tacitly, it assumes that man was made for the things of this life and that happiness is to be found in the satisfaction of earthly cravings and desires. It rewards self-assertion and not self-abnegation, and the motivation to which it appeals is greed no matter how respectably camouflaged. The Saviour tells us not to be oversolicitous for the satisfaction of our physical needs but to bear in mind that we have a Father in heaven Who is watching over us. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of

God and its justice, and all these things shall be added unto you."

This does not mean that we should sit back, do nothing, and allow affairs to take their own course. The providence of God operates through human diligence and prudence. We know that everything depends upon God. Yet we must labor as though everything depended upon us. All the things we need will be added unto us not as a reward of doing nothing at all but because we have done nothing at all for our own selfish purposes.

Before all things else, we need to know God and His Law and to learn to love Him with all our heart and all our soul and all our mind and all our strength. This is the Christian foundation for social action. The love of God implies the love of our neighbor. Human solidarity can be brought about only as a result of that charity which Christ taught and exemplified during His life here on earth and in which His grace enables us to grow and become strong.

When we really love our neighbor as ourselves, justice characterizes our attitude toward him and we are ever mindful of his rights. Back of it all is the abiding, throbbing realization that we are all children of God and our destiny is union together in Him. It becomes our zeal to diminish as far as self-interest is concerned that we may increase in social effectiveness and thus grow in holiness.

A secular philosophy of life cannot produce a good society. At best it can bring about union on the basis of compromise. Nothing created can fully satisfy the cravings and yearnings of the human heart, which contracts and cools when centered on material things. Humanitarianism has much to recommend it, but has no fundamental answer to any question. It is always more or less calculating, making concessions to the demands of

others in order to keep the peace, helping the unfortunate so as to enjoy in greater comfort one's own good fortune and because beneficence yields a certain sentimental satisfaction to the ego. The real motive behind it all is self-interest, and there are always limits to which self-interest will go for the common welfare. It is not minded to go into bondage and death unless it sees very clearly that it has something to gain by doing so.

Perfect living in the Christian sense cannot be expected of all men all of the time or of very many at any time. Humanity carries with it too much of a burden of ignorance and weakness. After all we have to be realistic; heroic sanctity is not an ordinary phenomenon, but it is an ideal to be striven for, the one ideal in which mankind's hopes for happiness can be safely invested. It is the Way of Christ, and the further we advance along it, the more we approach that blessed state of unity which is the result of living the Truth in Him.

## VI

## THE CHURCH: THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

THE American form of government and the ideals that inspire the American Way of Life not only accord with the principles of Christianity, but apart from them lack any real substantial foundation. The concept of the sacredness of the human personality is derived from what Jesus Christ revealed concerning man, his relationship with God, and his place in the eternal scheme of things. The Saviour showed us God not as a blind force working in the universe, not as a Being dwelling in heights inaccessible all unconcerned about the affairs of His creatures, but as Our Father, loving us, watching over us, cherishing each and every one of us no matter how lowly and undeserving we may be. All of us are children of a common Father in heaven, "Who maketh His sun to rise upon the good and the bad and raineth upon the just and the unjust." Consequently, we are all brothers and sisters. The concept of the brotherhood of man is a meaningless bit of poetry unless predicated on the Fatherhood of God.

We cannot expect to maintain the conclusions of Christianity unless we accept its premises. Christ came that men might "have life and have it more abundantly." But if they hope to enjoy this abundance, they must accept Him. Those who would reap with Him must first sow with Him. If society rejects His doctrine, it cannot hope to preserve its fruits.

Christ is more than an historical personage who lived in the long ago and said some very wise things that have never been forgotten. Christ is in the midst of men today not as a memory but as a vital energizing force. He was

crucified and died, but He rose again to a new and different life. All days until the end of time He will be with us carrying on His divine mission in the Church which He founded.

### *The Nature of the Church*

The Church is a divine, not a human institution. It was established by God, and did not simply grow out of human experience. St. Paul resorts to analogy and calls it the Body of Christ. Those who belong to it are members one of another in Him Who is the Head. Our Lord used another analogy; He is the Vine, we are the branches. Cut off from Him, we wither and die; united with Him in the vital union of Faith, we partake in His divine Life.

One cannot be said to belong to the Church in the same sense that one belongs to a party, a club, a labor union, or even to the family. Altogether, it is a unique manner of belonging, a belonging that makes for identification with Him Who is the unifying Principle and a consequent identification in intent and aspiration with all other members. Unlike other ways of belonging, it is not compartmentalized but is all-embracing. There is never a time nor a circumstance in which a member of the Church may function as something else. Wherever he is, whatever he may be doing, he is expected to bear in mind that he is "another Christ." Through him, it is Christ's intent to touch every phase of life and living and to sanctify every aspect of society.

### *The Church and Relationship with God*

The first responsibility of the Church is to reveal to the world the truth concerning God. "This is eternal life that they may know the only true God and Jesus Christ

Whom Thou hast sent." Humanity's destiny is union with God, and because of our rational nature this destiny must be achieved on the basis of reason and understanding. Unless we know God, we cannot be expected to love Him and to serve Him so as to merit a share in His eternal happiness. The truth about God that Christian teaching imparts to the mind shows Him forth as the Eternal Good which attracts the will until love is born. Love presses for closer and closer union, the means to which is prayer. Since we are not pure spirits but creatures composed of body and soul, we instinctively discover modes and instrumentalities for expressing this inner life externally, and we unite with our brethren in adoring God, thanking Him for His favors, making expiation for our sins, and begging His help in our manifold necessities.

For this reason the Church is an external institution, a visible community. It requires public adherence on the part of its members. It functions through a structure that is tangible, and not in a hidden, amorphous, and subjective manner. It is a society which has the right to demand all those things that are necessary for its exalted purpose and is not in any manner dependent upon or beholden to any other power or institution for its existence.

## *The Social Mission of the Church*

The sphere of the Church's competence and activity is not limited to those things which are purely spiritual. Union with God demands union with our fellow man, and the Commandment to love God above all things is obeyed in the degree that we love our neighbor as ourselves. Religion embraces everything in life, and nothing is outside its orbit. It has lost so much of its effectiveness these days precisely because it has allowed itself to be confined too exclusively within the walls of a building with its

activities concentrated on one day of the week. The phenomenon of so-called Christians doing for six days things that are in complete contradiction of all to which they paid lip service on Sunday is grist to the mill of those who deny that religion has any value in modern life and at best offers a convenient means of escape from reality.

We go to church on Sunday in order to obtain the light and strength that we need to make the church go with us during the week—go with us into our homes and communities, into the marts of trade and commerce, into the fields, the factories, and the mines, into our world of relaxation and recreation. Wherever men have need of truth and love and moral strength, which is everywhere, Christ expects us to take Him. We bear His Name in vain if we deny Him access to any phase or aspect of our daily existence.

This being so, it follows that the Church has the right to maintain and to direct all the instrumentalities that are required for her social mission. Among these are schools and the means of education, youth organizations, facilities for the care of the sick and the needy, provisions for salutary recreation. To the extent that she is impeded and restricted in any of these and similar fields of endeavor, she is deprived of the rights that belong to her by virtue of her supernatural nature and divine mission.

It must be borne in mind that the Church with Christ as the Head *is* her members. We are part and parcel of her in Christ, and belonging to her does not mean belonging to something outside of ourselves. Through membership in the Church we receive Divine Grace and are strengthened unto the practice of virtue. No power on earth has the right to put obstacles in the way of the free flow of grace to human souls, for grace is the life of God in which we participate as the fruit of the Redemption wrought by Jesus Christ. It comes to us directly

through the Sacraments, but indirectly it increases in our souls in the measure that we live the full, free, rich life of Christians in the Church. Neither the State nor any other human power may deprive the members of Christ's Body of even the smallest measure of the freedom that is necessary if Christ is to carry on through them His mission of salvation to the world.

*Religious Freedom*

Where there is no freedom of religion, all other freedoms are meaningless. Freedom from want, freedom from care, freedom of speech avail nothing if the human soul is at the same time hampered in its relations with God. Their function is to liberate humanity unto higher things; deprivation of these higher things is a greater evil by far than want and insecurity and the prohibition or censorship of expression. The basic human right is the right to maintain vital contact with the divine. Men and women decline in dignity and worth and dwindle in human stature when they are cut off from God, no matter how prosperous and protected they may be from a material point of view.

Freedom of religion means much more than the right to adhere to the sect of one's choosing and to take part in public worship on one's own terms. It means freedom to practice in all its fullness the truth that one believes, taking it for granted, of course, that such belief is rational and the practices that it involves are in accordance with right reason and the common good.

Freedom of religion for a Catholic means freedom for him in the Church, to learn and to teach. The Church, first of all because she received the commission from her Divine Founder to go forth and teach, and secondly because she possesses in her Sacraments and in her organiza-

tion the divine means to make her teaching effective, has pre-eminent rights in the field of education. These accord with the natural rights of parents, because the first concern of the Christian parent is to transmit to his children that which he cherishes above all else in life—namely, his Christian Faith. He finds a way of doing so through the educational activities of the Church. In cooperation with one another as members of the Body of Christ, Catholics develop a form and a quality of schooling which in cooperation with Divine grace is calculated to develop the Christian character that is impressed in Baptism. Any other form or quality of schooling would not satisfy the demands of conscience.

The same can be said for the right of Catholics in and through the Church to make provision for the sick and the infirm, to care for orphans and homeless children, to support and house the aged and infirm. All of these are works of mercy commanded by the Law of Christ which Catholics perform through their common effort in the Church. The obligation of charity which rests on the Christian cannot be shunted off to the government or to some other agency that is neutral in religion and which approaches every human problem from a secular point of view.

Catholic action is the great medium of lay activity and of cooperation on the part of the people with the clergy in the apostolate. It calls for organizations of every kind —organizations of youth and for youth, organizations for the practice of piety, organizations for the diffusion of Christian culture, organizations for the promotion of human welfare, organizations of Catholic farmers and Catholic workers. All of these are outward expressions of the inner life of the Church which deepens and widens because of them. Who lays upon them an arbitrary and restraining hand is interfering with the freedom of religion.

The Church is a universal, world-wide organization, but it has everywhere a local habitation and functions through the community which is called the parish. There it is that church membership actualizes itself and the work of Christ is done. A Catholic who has no parish affiliations or who fails to enter actively into parish life is living on the fringes of his faith. Membership *at large* in the Church is generally membership *at least.*

Active participation in the life of the parish is the mark of a good Catholic. The parish is, in effect, a neighborhood and, as such, offers an immediate opportunity to put to wider use the social virtues that are developed in the home. The teachings of the Church can be translated into action through works of mercy, works of zeal, and cultural activities undertaken in a corporate way while at the same time the parish is making its influence felt for civic betterment through cooperation with other enlightened forces in the community.

Of its members the parish has the right to expect support, both moral and physical. The good Catholic is of one mind with the Church. "Sentire cum ecclesia" is his watchword. He is loyal to those in authority, to the Pope as the Vicar of Christ and the Common Father of Christendom, to the bishop as the successor of the Apostles functioning for the Saviour in the diocese, to the pastor charged with responsibility for his spiritual welfare and pledged to the care of his soul.

This loyalty will express itself in generous, self-sacrificing support of the Church in a material way. Unlike the State, the Church has no means of imposing or collecting taxes; she depends upon the free will offerings of her children. The obligation to contribute to the maintenance of religion is founded in justice and is so accepted

by the Catholic who understands what church membership means. What he pays into the church treasury is not an alms, not a contribution to charity, but that share in a common enterprise that is due from him according to the canons of justice. To default in this matter is fully as dishonest as failure to pay the gas bill or to defraud the landlord. The fact that the Church is powerless to invoke legal sanctions forces her to depend upon the sanctions of the enlightened individual conscience.

*Relations with Non-Catholics*

Membership in the Church does not require that the Catholic isolate himself from those of his neighbors whose persuasions in matters religious differ from his. It does not confine him within the walls of a ghetto. On the contrary, it imposes upon him the obligation of taking an active part as a good citizen in activities that promote the general welfare of the community, the nation, and the world at large. Outside the Church there are multitudes of men and women who are people of good will whose lives give evidence of the noble ideals they cherish and who are intensely devoted to everything that promises a fuller measure of human happiness. They live in accord with the lights that have been vouchsafed them, and frequently they put Catholics who have so many spiritual advantages to shame. Externally, they do not belong to the Church, but in their heart of hearts they are imbued with the spirit of Jesus Christ and are doing His work to the best of their abilities. His grace is working powerfully in their souls.

In a nation like ours, where Catholics are in a minority, they must needs cooperate with high-minded people who are not of the Faith if they are to exert a beneficent influence on society. Christ was not a separatist; He went

about doing good and did not allow artificial barriers to circumscribe his mission. St. Paul became all things to all men to win them all to Christ. Catholicism is a leaven working in society, and not a subjugating force. Wherever men and women are banded together for the promotion of human betterment, Christ is in the midst of them, and Catholics should be ranged at His side.

## *The Kingdom of Christ*

The Church is the Kingdom of Christ on earth. It is the institution through which He continues to dwell in the midst of men in order to complete His mission. It is the source of the spiritual power that men need to live noble lives, and the center of religious authority. In it dwells the fullness of the Spirit of God; however, it is not a kingdom in the earthly sense. It is in the world, but it is not of the world. As a matter of fact, it is at fundamental variance with all that the world stands for and cherishes. Its function is to deliver mankind from the thralldom of the world and to give them the happiness that the world cannot give and in exchange for which the world is well lost.

"Art thou a king?" asked Pilate of the Son of God. "Thou sayest that I am a king," was the answer, "but my kingdom is not of this world . . . For this was I born, and for this I came into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." He came unto His own but many of His own have not received Him. Even those who received Him have for the most part received Him with limitations. He does not lay a necessitating hand on the human will; it is cooperation He welcomes only on a free basis. He draws mankind toward Him by virtue of the power of His truth; He does not resort to force.

The Preface in the Mass of the Feast of Christ the King thus describes His Kingdom: "A kingdom of truth and life; a kingdom of holiness and grace; a kingdom of justice, love and peace."

It is a kingdom of truth, but of the truth that lives. The truth of Christ is not something to be known and remembered and nothing more. Its values are not merely academic. It is a truth to be translated into action, to be put to work. It is a way of doing things, a life to be lived. It endows men with the liberty of the sons of God by progressively freeing them from ignorance, doubt, and error. "You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

It is a kingdom of holiness and grace. In Baptism we are born again and made to share in the life of God. A new and a higher vital principle is infused into our souls which elevates and purifies our nature and enables us to energize on a supernatural plane, to live godly lives. Grace does not dispense with nature, nor does it violate it in any way. On the contrary, it strengthens it by restoring it to the status which it enjoyed in the beginning, before sin came to deprive it of God's favor and to throw it back on its own resources.

Grace enlightens the mind and strengthens the will through the virtues which it infuses into our souls and helps us to rise above our native weakness unto holy living. It enables us to take up our cross and follow after Christ, even unto the crucifixion of our earthly, fleshly desires. We die to self and rise up to life in Christ. Saintliness is of the essence of the Christian ideal.

Of saintliness are born justice, love, and peace. The truth of Christ and the grace which accompanies it bring about the only valid human solidarity. Losing one's life in Christ means losing one's life in one's fellow man, for He identifies Himself with the least of His Brethren. This

relationship inspires men to deal justly with one another, to respect one another's rights, to do unto others as they expect others to do unto them. But it does more than this. It founds justice on love, not on the sentimentality that so often passes under that name and which is nothing more than unstable emotionalism, but on the love that resides in the will and which is the result of an intellectual conviction that the good of our neighbor is our own good and must be striven for regardless of feeling or sentimentality.

The kingdom of Christ is a kingdom of justice and love, and therefore it is a kingdom of peace. It levels all barriers, closes all gaps, heals all cleavages. Those who accept its authority and live in accord with its laws eschew competition and banish strife and discord from their midst. They discover that with the help of God they have become big enough to dispense with all bitterness and indignation and clamor and blasphemy and to be kind to one another.

The Savior taught us to pray for the coming of His kingdom—"Thy kingdom come." In His divine Wisdom He knew that the human race, so ignorant and weak and sinful, would never at any moment accept His law completely. The perfection of human conduct which He revealed in word and example can only be realized slowly and painfully. There will always be tares amid the wheat and fishes bad as well as good in the net. The Church is a Divine institution, but its members are human. There will always be a lag between intent and performance, between ideal and reality. Christ did not promise an Utopia; what He offers as the solution of human problems is the Cross.

# VII

## THE GOVERNMENT OF A FREE PEOPLE

"A CITIZEN must love his country, be sincerely interested in its welfare, and respect and obey its lawful authority." These words are contained in the Catechism of Christian Doctrine which is used as the basis for the religious instruction of Catholic children in the United States. They express the mind of the Church in reference to the obligations of citizenship. The Catechism goes on to say that a citizen shows a sincere interest in his country's welfare by voting honestly and without selfish motives, by paying just taxes, and when necessary by defending his country's rights. He must obey the lawful authority of his government, because it comes from God, Who is the Source of all authority. "We are obliged to take an active part in works of good citizenship because right reason requires citizens to work together for the public welfare of the country."

The delimitation of the function of the state in the modern world is perhaps the most critical issue which confronts mankind. The dislocations brought about by the rise of industrialism have had a shattering effect on all social institutions, the family in particular. It is increasingly apparent that we have need for more effective means of social control. Individualism and free enterprise need to be restrained and disciplined if we are to spare ourselves confusion, insecurity, and misery. Society must find better instrumentalities for implementing its common will.

In these latter years there has emerged the totalitarian state, which offers itself as the solution of all our problems. It subjects every phase of human life and every form of human activity to political domination and makes government omnicompetent. It turns its back on the whole tradition of freedom and democratic self-government. According to its philosophy, the individual exists for the state, and all of his interests must be subordinated to the demands of government.

In his Encyclical on the *Function of the State in the Modern World,* Pope Pius XII defines totalitarianism as "the error contained in those ideas which do not hesitate to divorce civil authority from every kind of dependence upon the Supreme Being—First Source and absolute Master of man and of society—and from every restraint of a Higher Law derived from God as from its First Source. Thus they accord the civil authority an unrestricted field of action that is at the mercy of the changeful tide of human will, or of the dictates of casual historical claims, and of the interests of a few . . . It puts itself in the place of the Almighty and elevates the State or group into the last end of life, the supreme criterion of the moral and juridical order, and therefore forbids every appeal to the principles of natural reason and of the Christian conscience."

Totalitarianism at first produced results in the way of better social integration and a wider distribution of wealth that were striking and served to deceive the disillusioned the world over. Communism was widely hailed as the force that would save society. Fascism impressed many with its possibilities. Preoccupation with the problem of widening the area of social security led to a neglect of the claims of personal freedom. Dictatorship seemed to be

able to get things done and to get them done without much waste of time. This fact recommended it to those who were growing impatient with the more cumbersome processes of democracy and who had not learned "to labor and to wait."

Now totalitarianism by its very nature is contrary to the best interests of humanity. A totalitarian government could not possibly be a good government. Even if the individual or the class or the party that wields authority were highly enlightened and always acted on the promptings of virtue, the system would still involve a constant threat to human happiness, because it deprives men and women of that freedom of thought and action to which they have an inherent right.

Totalitarianism involves an excessive claim of authority on the part of government. It makes for bureaucratic domination of the political, economic, social, and religious life of a people. It denies freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of education, freedom of property, freedom of the ballot, and freedom of assembly.

Totalitarianism is predicated on a concept of nationality that is false and contrary to Christian teaching concerning the unity of the race. It exalts a nation at the expense of its neighbors and justifies the domination and exploitation of other peoples. It is the foe of international amity and breeds war. In foreign relations as well as in domestic affairs it submits all things to the arbitration of force. As long as it continues to exist in the world under any guise, there can be no hope for an enduring peace.

## *The American Scene*

Here in the United States we have been witnessing a gradual expansion of the sphere of government. Our

efforts to arm ourselves against the threat of powers hostile to our institutions and our way of life have accelerated this expansion. More and more authority over a wider and wider range of activities has been vested in the federal government until the average citizen has become much more conscious of Washington than he is of his state capital or even of the authority that is local.

Now according to the minds of our Founding Fathers this was to be a nation of separate states possessed of a large measure of autonomy, united under a central government whose powers are enumerated in the Constitution. In other words, they intended to preserve as much local self-government as possible in order to keep the political power amenable to popular control. Under the Constitution the federal government does not possess a plenitude of power out of which it delegates authority to the states; on the contrary, it only possesses such powers as the states yield to it.

In the beginning we were an agricultural nation, which means among other things that in the various sections of the country the people were economically self-sufficient in a very large degree. Their markets were close at hand, as were their sources of supply. Today we have become an industrial nation and the area of our mutual interdependence has widened tremendously. The things we need for our daily existence are no longer produced in our immediate neighborhood, and if we have anything to sell, we must think in terms of distant markets. Commerce is overwhelmingly interstate, and very little manufacture is any longer purely local. Lobsters trapped off the Maine coast are marketed in Chicago the following morning. Fresh fruit from California enriches the New Yorker's diet; ore mined in Minnesota is processed in Pittsburgh.

Improved means of communication make next-door neighbors out of people who live far away. Telephone,

telegraph, and radio eliminate distance. An orchestra plays in New York and is listened to in Texas. By simply taking down the receiver, we can converse with a friend or business associate across the continent.

No longer is it a hardship to travel and to move from place to place. We can go almost anywhere with speed and marvelous comfort and are not compelled by the difficulties of transportation to stay at home. The railroad, the airplane, the automobile have wondrously increased our mobility, and they make it possible for us to roam far and wide over the land.

As a result of all this, we are forced more and more to think and to act in terms of the nation at large. Our problems are no longer localized, and state boundaries have lost much of their significance. Social and economic problems refuse to be solved on a neighborhood basis, and we have recourse to the federal government.

The dangers to free institutions and to popular self-government in this centralizing trend are apparent. The further the control of the intimate details of everyday life is removed from the man on the street, the less chance there is that his point of view and his predilections will be consulted. Distant government becomes impersonal and entrenches itself in bureaucracy. It comes under the influence of the politically powerful and gets out of touch with the people. The ballot loses its effectiveness as a safeguard of personal liberty, for the issues become confused and are no longer understandable in terms of personal experience. People come to feel that government is something that belongs to someone else, and as their opportunities for direct participation dwindle, they gradually lose interest. The civil servant becomes a master and a law unto himself.

However, it is a fact that, contemporary conditions being what they are, the people of the United States must

make a greater use of their federal government if they are to solve many of the problems that confront them. The economic life of the nation has become highly centralized and will not respond to social controls that are local. Some cherish the dream of a decentralization of industry and business, but the chances of its realization are slight indeed. Meanwhile, men, women, and children are being deprived of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which is their American birthright. Intransigence in the face of harsh realities is hard to justify.

The American people, for the preservation of their liberties and the perpetuation of their way of life, must find a way of utilizing their central government without at the same time losing anything that is vital of local self-rule. It is not an easy task that faces them, and it will call for statesmanship and intelligence of the highest order. There must be fostered an abiding sensitivity to encroachments on fundamental liberties and a vigilance that never nods. Proposals and projects must be scrutinized most minutely and the impulse to get quick results with little heed to ultimate consequences restrained. The political education of the common people will have to be vastly improved if they are to give direction to government and keep their hand on the controls.

### *The Function of the State*

The tardiness with which other agencies adjust themselves to the changing circumstances of the times and the inability of the normal processes of society to function amid abnormal conditions have been the occasion of an assumption on the part of the State of a wide range of new responsibilities. Government has entered the fields of business and industry, has taken cognizance of the plight of agriculture, has broadened its control of education, has

embarked on large scale ventures in the domain of welfare and social service. As a consequence, its costs have increased tremendously, and the burden begins to weigh heavily on the taxpayer.

He would be presumptuous indeed who would attempt to define in any specific manner the proper limits of State activity. In times like these when human values are at stake, doctrinaire quibbling is out of order. No one has summed it all up better than Pius XII in the following words taken from the Encyclical on the *Function of the State in the Modern World*:

"True courage and a heroism worthy in its degree of admiration and respect, are often necessary to support the hardships of life, the daily weight of misery, growing want and restrictions on a scale never before experienced, whose reason and necessity are not always apparent. Whoever has the care of souls and can search hearts knows the hidden tears of mothers, the resigned sorrow of so many fathers, the countless bitterness of which no statistics tell or can tell. He sees with sad eyes the mass of sufferings ever on the increase; he knows how the powers of disorder and destruction stand on the alert ready to make use of all these things for their dark designs. No one of good-will and vision will think of refusing the State, in the exceptional conditions of the world of today, correspondingly wider and exceptional rights to meet the popular needs. But even in such emergencies, the moral law, established by God, demands that the lawfulness of each such measure and its real necessity be scrutinized with the greatest rigor according to the standards of the common good."

No matter what the crisis, the moral law is never suspended. Its authority will be vindicated if the American people move forward within the framework of their Con-

stitution and hold fast to the principles that have kept them free ere now.

It is the function of the State so to order the affairs of temporal life as to facilitate the attainment on the part of the citizen of physical, intellectual, and moral perfection. Happiness results from living the good life, and the good life is the life of virtue. The State is always a means, never an end in itself, and it governs best when it fosters in the citizen the ability to govern himself.

Hence the State should be solicitous to strengthen and improve those institutions which are prior to it in society and whose rights take precedence over its own, such as the family, the Church, and economic groups. It should not attempt to supplant them and should never take any action that would weaken their effectiveness. Lasting social reforms can only be accomplished through voluntary cooperation. As a consequence, the State should stimulate its citizens to find the solution of their problem through free cooperation and not under compulsion. A democracy loses its soul when it loses faith in itself and becomes impatient of democratic processes.

### *The State and the Church*

The American State has yet to reach a satisfactory solution of the issue of its relationship with organized religion. Under the Constitution Congress is prohibited from passing any laws respecting the establishment of religion, and the fitness of any citizen to vote or to hold public office is not to be determined on the basis of any religious test. Church and State are separated by our fundamental law.

However, the importance of religion in the life of the nation is recognized in numerous ways. Those who hold public office are required to take an oath before God that they will live up to their responsibilities to the utmost of

their powers. The sessions of the Congress are opened with prayer, and ministers of religion have been appointed as chaplains for this purpose. They have likewise been made commissioned officers in the army and navy in order that they may minister to the spiritual needs of soldiers and sailors. The religious rights of the people have been upheld by the courts. All in all, there is abundant recognition of the fact that a man's relations with his God are sacrosanct and are to be safeguarded in the interest of the common welfare.

However, there has been a refusal, except in a few isolated instances, to admit that government has any obligation to give financial support to religious activities. State constitutions prohibit the use of public funds for sectarian purposes, and any attempt to change or to circumvent them has always been rebuffed on the grounds that it would lead to a union of church and state.

This condition of affairs has placed the Church at a decided disadvantage and drastically circumscribed her freedom of action. As the population of the country has increased, religion has been unable, dependent as it is on voluntary contributions, to develop adequately its facilities for education and welfare. It has been forced to stand by helplessly whilst the State with unlimited funds at its disposal has gradually almost monopolized these fields. Increases in the cost of government, largely due to the fact that the State has been assuming more and more of the functions that rightly belong to the family, the Church, and other voluntary agencies, have led to increased taxation. As a result, more and more of the national wealth has been channeled into the public treasury, and less of it has been available for non-governmental purposes.

American education has become substantially secularized, due to the refusal of the majority of the people to

allow public monies to be used for the support of church schools. This despite the fact that those who founded the nation were otherwise minded, as witness the fact that even prior to the adoption of the Constitution the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 made provision through grants of land for the maintenance of schools and means of education because "religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind."

Parents are required by law to send their children to school; yet the schools that are provided at public expense do not offer the kind of education that accords with the conscientious convictions of millions of fathers and mothers. Catholic parents have the responsibility before God of seeing to it that their children receive a Catholic education. The State refuses to supply facilities for such an education and, since at the same time it makes schooling compulsory, it leaves them no alternative save to build and maintain schools of their own. Meanwhile, they contribute their fair share in taxes for the support of an educational system that seems to offer no occasion for conscientious objection on the part of the majority of those outside the Church. In other words, a minority is penalized because of its religious convictions, which is certainly not in the spirit of true democracy.

It is one thing to demand State support for religion, but quite another thing to insist that religion be supported in the State. Nothing bodes so ill for the future of a society as the decline of religion. When that bond disintegrates, no other bond will hold. Government needs religion more than it needs anything else on earth, for religion is the source of everything that makes life worthwhile and is the ultimate safeguard of liberty. A nation which fosters science and art and is lavish in its expenditures for the bread and butter phases of life but at the same time

starves the soul of man is planting the seeds of its own destruction. It is building its house without the Lord, which means that it is building it in vain.

All that stands in the way of a solution of this problem is a precedent and a prejudice. The precedent is the result of a compromise effected a hundred years ago when sectarian differences seemed irreconcilable. The compromise was the work of men of limited experience and vision. Perhaps wider experience and broader vision would discover that the differences can be reconciled as they have been in other free lands. As to the prejudice, it is essentially un-American and should not be permitted to exert any influence in a nation consecrated to the ideals of freedom and justice.

## *Civic Virtue*

Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of education, and freedom of assembly are vitally necessary for the preservation of a democratic government, because without them the people would be denied access to the facts that they must know if they are to reach intelligent decisions on public policy. In a dictatorship these decisions are made by the powers that be, and the ordinary citizen is told as little as possible. But in a nation where the authority of the State rests on the consent of the governed, it stands to reason that such consent must be free. It will be free only if it is enlightened, which means that there must be the widest possible diffusion of information.

Every citizen in a free country has the obligation of being intelligent about public affairs. The decisions he makes personally and which he registers when he casts his ballot affect the common welfare. In reaching them, he must proceed as a rational being; he must think clearly.

It is important that he develop his powers of critical judgment lest he succumb to the blandishments of propaganda. He must become skillful in weighing issues carefully and in applying his own common sense. He must be able to appraise his own motives and be equipped with that measure of self-knowledge that will make him chary of choosing on the basis of personal or class interest and prejudice.

Rational behavior of this description requires more than mere knowledge; allied to an enlightened mind must be a strong will. The basic requirement for effective citizenship in a democracy is character.

It is of the highest importance that this fact be underscored at the present time when there is so much concern for the future of our democracy caused by the realization that we have failed largely to develop adequate education for citizenship. Our immediate impulse is to do things that are striking and dramatic, to wave the flag and roll the drums and in other ways to appeal to the emotions. Along with this there are hectic attempts to force the man on the street to think. By means of the radio, of forums, of discussion groups, as well as through the medium of pamphlets and brochures of all descriptions, information is poured into his mind. We are told it is necessary for him to hear all sides of every question and to have access to every shade of opinion.

Now all of this may be very good, but it is decidedly not enough. As a matter of fact, without something else it may serve only to confound confusion. Knowledge is definitely not virtue. Civic education is not acquired by listening. Discussion may bring about clarification of ideas, but of itself it does not translate ideas into dynamic action. It may result in nothing more than talk. Education for citizenship is acquired by living the life of a citizen. We learn to do by doing.

The local community offers opportunities for learning

the ways of democracy through personal, active participation in its processes. That is why the preservation of local self-government is so vital to our national welfare. Our task it is to discover ways and means of bringing together the various religious, social, and economic groups in every community for the purpose of developing a common program to meet common needs. Committees of citizens representing different interests and shades of opinion may well be formed to give advice and direction to government officials in the carrying out of measures that have been enacted into law. Out of the resulting personal experience, the people will come to a fuller realization of the fact that their government belongs to them, that they must use it for their purposes and not allow it to use them. In a word, they will acquire the habits of democracy.

The right to vote carries with it a sacred responsibility. It dare not be exercised lightly and without full and adequate consideration of the issues that are involved. When we elect individuals to represent us in the government, we are in large measure responsible for the way in which public affairs are conducted. They have our mandate, and they are acting in our stead. If because of our carelessness or our dereliction in the use of the ballot the wrong kind of people are elected, the blame is ours.

The voter who is motivated by any consideration short of the common welfare is a traitor to the trust committed to him. He is buying with his ballot privileges and advantages to which he has no right and is contributing to the breakdown of government.

On the other hand, those who are elected to public office have the patriotic duty before God to labor conscientiously for the promotion of the common welfare and for the upholding of the principles of justice. Their authority is derived ultimately from God. If they use

their office in the interest of personal, pecuniary gain, or if they are swept away by a lust for personal power, they are committing sin. There is no such thing as "honest graft." The fact that a dishonest public official uses his ill-gotten goods or his irresponsible power to help the poor and lowly or to advance this good cause or that does not make him anything else than what he is in the sight of God—namely, a betrayer of the public trust and a dangerous foe to good government.

*International Relations*

Once again, after the briefest breathing spell, the world has gone to war. The resolve of mankind, reached amid the horrors and the misery of the first World War, that never again would there be a resort to armed conflict as a means of composing international differences, has broken down. The dream of peace has gone glimmering, and millions of young men are being slaughtered on the battle field. What is worse, helpless civilians are perishing amid the destruction of their homes. Modern civilization is rocked to its foundations, and there is reason for grave doubt as to its ability to survive the shocks to which it is being subjected.

The human family has not yet found the way to live together in peace and unity. May it soon find the way in reason, embodied in international legislation and ajudication! The world over, men, women, and children are fundamentally alike. The same things make them gay or sad. They cherish the same hopes and dreams and hunger alike for contentment and security. They marry and give in marriage and feel the same glad exultation when things go right. National boundaries, differences of race or color, do not alter the fact that everywhere there are fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, sweethearts,

friends, and neighbors. Everywhere they are human beings, warmed by the same sun, chilled by the same winter, fed by the same food, protected by the same shelter, eager for love, eager for happiness.

Yet in spite of it all, they are hating one another and killing one another because of national differences. Because this man lives five miles to the east of an imaginary line and another five miles to the west, they are supposed to be enemies, and the welfare of one demands the destruction of the other. Nations do not seem to be able to grasp the fact that they are bound by reciprocal ties, that the human race is in fact a great commonwealth, and that the good of any people can be achieved only within the pattern of the common good of all. The great challenge to the nations is to find a substitute for war to adjudicate their differences.

The root of it all is that distortion and exaggeration of love of country that is false nationalism. It is the doctrine that holds that the welfare of a people demands that it develop power at all costs, no matter what happens to its neighbors; that the nation must be self-sufficient and strong enough to enforce all its demands.

False nationalism is nothing more than the application of the principles of Individualism, with all that they imply of greed and ruthless competition, to a national economy. It makes a mockery of mutual trust and refuses to respect international agreements. It subscribes to the principle that might makes right and that the fittest alone should survive.

Because of the character of modern society and the economic interdependence of peoples, the world over, it is next to impossible to localize a war. Neutrality becomes a fiction that is not respected and which cannot be maintained. No nation can isolate itself from the rest of the

world, and because its interests are far-flung, they are bound to become involved in any large scale conflict.

In the midst of war, we think of peace and try to get a glimpse at least of a world order that will square with the dignity of human nature and minister unto human happiness. As a nation, we have a profound obligation to cooperate in the fashioning of such an order. We are our brother's keeper, whether he be white or black or yellow, whether he is at home in the Caucasus or on the plains of the Argentine, whether he be German, British, French, or Italian. Whatever he is, wherever he is, he belongs to us. He is a child of God, redeemed by Christ's Precious Blood, and we dare not pass by and leave him wounded by the roadside.

"One nation's will to live," says Pius XII, "must never be tantamount to a death sentence for another." We have no designs on any other people, nor have we any dream of conquest. Yet our desire to maintain peace for ourselves does not justify us in defaulting on our obligations to others. We would be sentencing other nations to die, were we to isolate ourselves from them, banish them from our plans, and leave them to their fate.

## VIII

# EDUCATION FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL LIVING

ANY evening, when the time comes to go to bed, and in the stillness of the night, weary and tired, we review the things that have befallen us since morning, whether we are enthusiastically hopeful for the future of the world or cynical and disillusioned about everything under the sun depends in large part on the kind of men and women we have encountered during the course of our day's work. If the majority of them have been thoughtful and considerate, have shown respect for our feelings and our rights, have given evidence of refinement and of charm, we feel that God is in His heaven and that all is well with mankind. On the other hand, if the persons with whom we have had to deal turned out to be crafty and cunning, have ridden roughshod over us, and made no attempt to conceal their bad nature and their uncouthness, we feel rather hopeless about it all and wonder if we have reserves of courage sufficient to face the morrow.

So much in life depends upon people, on the ordinary folk who come together and form the entity we call society. The term stands for an abstraction that has no reality except in them. What they are, what they think, what they feel, what they do, gives it substance and quality and determines its potentialities for weal or for woe.

Throughout these pages there has been a constant insistence on the fact that better times await the emergence of better men. It is the central theme of the entire discussion. There has been due recognition given to the

vital role of the environment, and stress has been laid on the necessity for strengthening the political structure and the improvement of social processes; but what has been emphasized and re-emphasized throughout is the proposition that, if we have done all this and nothing more, we have served without success. If we are intent on reconstructing society, we must begin by reconstructing the individual.

All of which serves to underline the important role that education must play in the making of a world that is fit for human living. Education is the process whereby those deep and abiding changes are made in the very heart of us that make us what we are.

Wherever people happen to be, whatever they are doing, they are being educated. For young and old alike, everyday experience is exercising either a constructive or a corrosive effect on their personalities. Education takes place in the workshop, in the office, down in the mine, out on the farm, at the cinema, in the pool room, or around the bar of a cocktail lounge. It is not confined to the classroom. In the classroom, of course, it is conscious of itself and more or less formalized, but teaching and learning of some sort is going on wherever there is opportunity for persons to come together and thus to influence one another.

## *Education and National Welfare*

The recognition of the importance of education for national well-being is a development that is comparatively recent. Two centuries ago state systems of education were virtually non-existent. Today every government in the world, whether it be democratic or totalitarian, looks upon the school as its first arm of defense and by

law and statute determines educational standards for childhood and youth.

Education has always been a primary concern with the American people. The functional relation between democratic self-government and universal literacy was recognized from the beginning, and the legal age for leaving school has been steadily raised. Opportunities not only for elementary schooling but for secondary education as well have been made generally available, as well as facilities for direct preparation for the earning of a livelihood. At public expense universities have been established in the several states and in many municipalities, while the federal government, since the Civil War, has stimulated the development and growth of agricultural colleges.

All the while, schools and colleges and universities conducted on a voluntary basis have multiplied with scarcely any interference on the part of the State. The right of parents to control the education of their children and to send them to schools of their own choosing has been vindicated by the Supreme Court. The only handicap on voluntary educational endeavor arises out of the refusal of government to make financial contributions to its support. Latterly, due to the fact that the State is appropriating unto itself more and more of the surplus wealth of the nation in form of taxes, there has been a decided falling off in donations to private educational institutions with the result that the future of many of them is anything but hopeful. This means that by indirection at least government is gradually assuming a monopoly in the field of schooling.

### *The Public School*

The great weakness of tax-supported education in the United States lies in its failure to make provision for the

teaching of religion. In this field it claims to be neutral and insists that because of sectarian differences it must of necessity leave religious training to the home and to the church.

However, it is impossible to be neutral in the matter of religion, for underneath everything that we think or do lies some religious assumption. The very conviction that religion can be left out of the curriculum with impunity tacitly assumes that the things of God are not as essential to human well-being as are the things of the world. Bit by bit, this tacit assumption has become an explicit doctrine with the consequent acceptance of Secularism as the basis of American educational philosophy. Educational practice in the United States may still delude itself into thinking it is neutral in religion; but the theory on which it rests is definitely naturalistic and irreligious. It substitutes society for God, insists that moral and intellectual standards are purely relative and pragmatic, and derives its values from considerations that are utilitarian.

Catholics have never accepted the public school as the just solution of the educational problem; yet since they are a minority, they had no choice but to establish a system of their own. It has been a costly venture and has taken so much toll of their meager resources, their energies, and their personnel that many of the other important responsibilities of the Church have not been met. At best, the Catholic people of the United States have been able to take care of only fifty per cent of their children and have been forced, in spite of themselves, to see the rest enroll in secular schools and, as a consequence, to receive only such spiritual formation as can be provided in the home or in classes assembled during out-of-school hours.

Religion is too important for human welfare to be treated as a mere accessory to life and living. Hence no part-time arrangement for its teaching can ever amount to more than a poor palliative. Religion is of the very warp and woof of life, and consequently it must be of the very warp and woof of education. Our relationship with God is the basis of every other relationship, and our lives have meaning only in reference to our Creator and to His Divine Will. Everything about us belongs to God, and any dualism between God and the world is definitely false intellectually and dangerously wrong morally.

The place for Catholic children and youth to receive their education is in the Catholic school. There the Christian philosophy of education based on the Christian philosophy of life receives its implementation. In his Encyclical on the *Christian Education of Youth,* Pius XI tells us that the aim of Christian education is "to cooperate with Divine Grace in forming Christ in those regenerated in Baptism." Paraphrasing this definition and applying it to our own circumstances here in the United States, we might say that the aim of Christian education is to provide those experiences which, with the assistance of Divine Grace, are best calculated to develop in the young the ideas, the attitudes, and the habits that are demanded for Christ-like living in our American democratic society.

This definition accepts the principle that real learning takes place only on the basis of experience. Education is an active, not a passive process; it is something that the learner acquires for himself under the direction and guidance of his teachers. It is accomplished by means of self-activity.

The successful school organizes its curriculum into a series of things that must be done and offers a plenitude

of opportunity for firsthand experience. It is a place where children live and do not merely sit and listen. They master the truth by doing the truth in circumstances that correspond as nearly as possible with the situations of real life. They are kept aware at every stage of the process of the relation between what they are learning and the actualities of daily existence, and thus recognize at all times the continuity between life in the classroom and life outside.

They live, they act, they do; and through living, acting, and doing their characters are formed. Basically, character is something that is resident in the will. It involves the discipline of impulse and emotion and guarantees conduct that accords with right reason and principle. It develops in the degree that the will is strengthened by being progressively freed of the fetters of ignorance and concupiscence and wrong habits.

The will is a blind faculty and needs the light that comes from the intellect. Its natural tendency is to respond to what the mind recognizes as good.

The mind, on the other hand, will recognize the good only if it is trained to do so. A thing is good when it corresponds with the truth, and hence the intellect must be able to discover truth. The process that it uses for this purpose we call thinking; the results of thinking are conserved in the form of ideas.

An idea really belongs to a person and is alive and fruitful in his mind if he himself has thought it through. If it is no more than a remembering of what someone else told him, it has little formal value, for then it has been taken in more or less passively and never actually absorbed.

The development and training of the intellectual powers is a first charge on education. Man is a rational being, but if he is to act according to reason, he must be skilled

in the use of reason. The more complex life becomes and the more frequently new adjustments to changing conditions are required, the more necessary it is to be able to understand the situations in which we find ourselves and to make keen and valid judgments as to courses of action. An informed and disciplined mind is the greatest asset a person can have in a world like that in which we live.

The best way to train the mind is to face it with real problems and to give it the opportunity and the freedom to solve them. Guidance and direction are always in order, but they should never degenerate into spoon-feeding and telling the answers.

The will is attracted to the good as revealed in the intellect, but at the same time it is sensitive to the good that is felt by the emotions. In an ideal order these two goods would coincide. However, the order in which we find ourselves is not ideal; it is really no order at all, but the disorder caused by Original Sin. The law in the members wars against the law in the mind, and as a consequence we are continually in the predicament of knowing what is right and loving what is wrong.

This emotional anarchy is what is called concupiscence. It is the conglomeration of all our self-regarding impulses. Its object is immediate, tangible satisfaction. It is the creature of a misdirection of our inner drives and urges.

These drives and urges need to be brought to heel and made to serve the purposes of reason. They express themselves in our attitudes and appreciations. There is a feeling concomitant to all of our experiences, and if we fail to take cognizance of it, all too easily it may come to pass that we will be deriving pleasure from wrong things and will be pained by things that are right.

It is the responsibility of education to see to it that the truth will come to be loved while it is being learned, or at least will not be learned in such a manner and under

such circumstances as to be hated. At any and every moment, it is dealing with the learner as a whole and not with some part of him. Hand in hand with intellectual development must go the development of corresponding attitudes and appreciations. Otherwise, the result will be the "wise fool" or adult intelligence cancelled by emotional infantilism.

Character supposes a will, freed not only from ignorance and concupiscence but from the handicap of bad habits as well. From infancy onward, we are constantly forming habits as the result of our daily actions. If they are wrong habits, it is going to be just that much more difficult for us to act in conformity with the truth as we know it and to cleave unto the good. In spite of our best intentions and efforts, we will slip back into the old groove and respond to life situations in our accustomed way. The right kind of habits, which are the virtues, must be ingrained through practice; and in the degree that they are, the wrong kind will atrophy and disappear.

Thus the man or woman of character is the one who has come to know the truth, who loves the truth and finds joy in it, and who at all times and in all circumstances acts in accordance with it. The will is strong because the will is free, emancipated from ignorance by knowledge, from concupiscence by noble attitudes and appreciations, and from unworthy habits by an armor of virtue.

### *Character in Action*

Character exhibits itself in the manner in which a person acts in respect to the situations that present themselves in daily life. The scope of our knowledge, the quality of our attitudes, and the effectiveness of our habits are made apparent through our conduct in our various relations.

The Christian should conduct himself in accordance with norms derived from the teachings of Christ. The grace of God is in him, and he is expected to follow its promptings and make constant use of its power. The Christian who is a citizen of the United States will strive to the best of his ability to translate his faith into action that squares with the ideals of democratic living. With the aid of the grace that has been given him, he will strive to contribute in his own way, be it small or great, to the making of a better and a finer America.

The basic relationships which condition the life of the Christian are relationship with God, relationship with the Church, relationship with human beings, and relationship with the natural environment. These relationships make constant demands on his thinking, his feeling, and his capacities for action; if he is to prove worthy of his vocation, he must respond to them as Christ would respond, were Christ in his place.

### *Relationship with God*

Our first obligation as intelligent beings is to understand our origin and our destiny. Reason tells us that there must be a God Who made us and that, as a consequence, we owe Him allegiance. Divine Revelation comes to reason's aid and discovers for us things about God that otherwise we could never know and at the same time gives us an idea clearer by far than we could ever have reached, working on our own, of what God expects of us in the way of love and service.

The better God is known, the more He will be loved and, as a consequence, the more zealously He will be served. Because everything else in life is affected by the quality of our relationship with God, the worth of any education can be measured by its success in imparting to the learner true knowledge of his Creator.

This knowledge must be imparted in such a way as to bring out its exalted beauty and to reveal its noble delights. God must be learned in order that God may be loved. It is possible to teach religion in such a way and under such circumstances as to render it repellent. The result would be to create a distaste in the child for the things of God and to hold him back from that loving union with the Divine which is the source of true happiness. It is not enough just to know God; we must at the same time have the right attitude toward Him.

Our love of God, if it is real, will not be kept pent up in our hearts; we will need to find modes of expressing it. These modes are supplied us by effective habits of prayer, both private and public. The Disciples were voicing a universal need of the human heart when they begged the Master to teach them how to pray. Prayer is the atmosphere that we must breathe if we are to keep spiritually alive; it holds us in vital contact with the Source of Life, and when we practice it externally and publicly, as our nature demands that we must, it holds us in vital contact with one another.

*Relationship with the Church*

Christian education should prepare the young for effective membership in the Church. They must learn to know the Church and come to an understanding of her real mission in order that they may realize how Christ functions in her and in her members. They must love the Church and come to "have the feel of her," in order that they may become fully incorporated into her life. They act for and with the Church through a loyalty and self-sacrificing service that has become second nature through habit.

*Relationship with Our Fellow Man*

A school would fail utterly of its Christian purpose and would be quite out of step with the Catholic philosophy of education were it to confine itself exclusively to preparing its pupils to meet the demands of their relationship with God and fail to make them aware of their duties to their fellow man. An empty pietism would result that would render religion unreal and without value for the betterment of society. Our Lord never tired of insisting that the test of the genuineness of our love of God is the love we cherish for our neighbor and that we cannot hope to possess Him unless we are willing to accept the least of His brethren.

Children in a Catholic school should acquire the ideas, the attitudes, and the habits that they need for life in society. They must come to understand social living and what it demands on the part of the individual. From a study of history, of literature, of the nature of economic life and the functions of social institutions, of the character of American democracy, they may achieve an intelligent understanding of their relationships with their fellow man and of the duties and responsibilities that flow out of these relationships. Brought face to face with social realitiees, they may be able to develop the attitudes and form the habits that are pertinent to existence in the world as it is today and have value for the purposes of practical living in society.

The curriculum of the school should make provision for preparation for healthy family life, for fruitful living in the neighborhood, the community, the economic group, and in the nation, and for the development of an adequate understanding of international relationships. Thus a conscience will be formed for the welfare of humanity.

Attitudes and prejudices that are un-Christian and anti-social cause confusion and disorder in society, and everything possible should be done both in school and out to prevent their development. Hostility to others because of race or color or religion or economic status, the ambition for personal success at all costs, lack of fundamental loyalties, suspicion and distrust of other people and their motives—all of these make for disunity and work to the detriment of the common good. A school which would foster them is a menace to the commonwealth, as is a school that ignores or tolerates them.

The fostering of noble attitudes, of tolerance and understanding, of generosity, of kindness, of patience, of courtesy and trust toward all people, regardless of any consideration whatsoever, is a responsibility that is of the very essence of Catholic education. The height and breadth and length and depth of the charity of Christ is limitless, and though it surpasses understanding, we are bound in conscience to emulate it and to love our neighbor as we love ourselves.

*Relationship with Nature*

As rational beings, it behooves us to acquire at least a basic understanding of the material world in which we live and of the laws that govern nature. Ignorance on this score renders us ineffective in the service of God and of our fellow man and prevents us from utilizing the discoveries of science for our own personal improvement. The more we study the visible work of God's Hand, the deeper we penetrate into the invisible infinity of His Mind and the nobler, as a consequence, is our concept of His Divinity. At the same time, a working knowledge of things scientific enables us to play a more intelligent

role in human affairs and to understand what it means to live in a technological civilization. Science can be made to minister unto the preservation of health, the making of a living, the creation of social solidarity; and it has contributed largely to the diffusion of culture. It is an essential element in education.

An understanding of nature in relation to human needs helps to form a conscience concerning the proper use of material things. It fits us to be intelligent consumers. The earth and its fullness are at our disposal, but they are not to be utilized for selfish purposes. We are stewards and not full owners of the manifold gifts of God; they are to be administered to His Law, which means for the welfare of our neighbor and the consequent perfection of ourselves. If we waste them and allow them to be heedlessly destroyed, we may be robbing others and preventing them from enjoying what belongs to them as much as it belongs to us. There would not be a conservation problem in this country today if men had always cherished attitudes toward the gifts of nature that are Christian and enlightened and, as a consequence, had recognized the rights of generations yet unborn.

## *The Goals of Christian Education*

It is the function of Christian education to provide facilities for the formation of that kind and quality of character which will enable the individual to behave as Christ expects him to behave in relation to God, to his neighbor, and to nature. St. Paul tells us that it is by "doing the truth in charity we grow up in all things unto Him Who is the Head, even unto Christ." Character is not born of passive absorption or of regimentation. We grow in virtue by performing virtuous acts. Something, of course, can be learned through listening, and

there are times and circumstances when sitting still is in order, but education produces its best and most lasting results when, under the free guidance of the teacher and in cooperation with his fellow pupils, the child works out his own scholastic salvation.

Since the ability to govern oneself is such an essential requisite for citizenship in the American democracy, it is necessary that it should be acquired through experience in the school. A school is a community in which a number of human beings are working together in a common endeavor. Its discipline should reflect an understanding of this fact. Good order must be insisted upon, and respect for authority. But these are best fostered in an atmosphere of freedom in which it is possible to be natural. When a child goes to school, he loses nothing of the sacredness of his personality; his dignity and worth as a rational creature are not diminished in any way. He cannot learn the art of living in a free society from training under a classroom dictatorship.

The goals of Christian education in American democratic society might be summed up as follows:

Physical fitness, or the habits of healthful living based on an understanding of the body and its needs, and right attitudes toward everything that contributes to good health.

Economic literacy, or an understanding of the workings of modern industrial civilization, with all that it involves of interdependence, adequate to yield an appreciation of the value of work and a zeal for social justice.

Social virtue, based on an understanding of American life and the workings of democracy, making the individual ready to make those sacrifices of self-interest that are necessary if he is to live with his fellow man in peace and unity.

Cultural development, rooted in a familiarity with the beauty the human mind has created and enshrined in its literature, its music, and its art, and flowering in a taste for finer things that will banish the low, the lewd, the vulgar, and the decadent.

Moral perfection, or saintliness, the crown of all the rest, achieved in and through all the rest, fulfilling the purpose of man's existence, because it purifies him and unites him with his God.

In the measure that Catholic education reaches these goals, it justifies its existence and enriches our national life. At the same time, it increases the measure of human happiness, for it produces people who have grown up unto the measure of the age and the stature of Christ, and who, functioning for Him, "go about doing good." They are the better men and women whose coming better times await.

# IX

## THE VISION OF A BETTER WORLD

SINCE the fall of our first parents there has been manifest throughout all human history one great enduring purpose. That purpose is the unification of mankind. The sin of Adam sundered the unity that in the beginning existed between man and his Creator and brought into the world discord and confusion. Sin set man against his God and thereby set him against his brother. It introduced into human society a centrifugal force; it tended to center every individual on himself and make him subject to his own whims and caprices. Its fruit is the individualism which has plagued human society from the beginning even until now and which seems to defeat every attempt to make of earth a Paradise.

Of course, there never will be a Paradise on earth again. That chapter in human history was ended once for all when man attempted to become like God by disobeying God. But there can be happiness and there can be unity and there can be peace. One came that we might have life and have it in abundance. One came to give us peace. It is the promised portion of as many as receive Him, Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God. He was sent to us by the Father to restore all things, to gather up what had been scattered. To those who believe in Him is given the power of becoming the sons of God, which means the power of dying with Him to all that pertains to self in order that they may live with Him in God and in their fellow man.

It is the Will of God that men realize that they belong

to Him, that they strive in every way to become more and more perfectly united with Him. We were made for God, and apart from God our existence has no meaning. God commands us to love Him with all our heart and all our soul and all our mind and all our strength. But He also insists that we cannot love Him unless we love our fellow man. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We are all children of a common Father in heaven but there is no room for us in our Father's house unless we love one another as God also loves us.

To reveal unto us this law of love and to give us the power to live in accordance with it, God became man. He deigned to humble Himself and to partake of our nature, in order that we in turn might become endowed with His divine prerogatives. His eternal purpose is the establishment and the spread of the kingdom of God on earth. This kingdom will come, in the degree that men and women and children do His Will here on earth as it is done in heaven. The essence of God's kingdom is union —union with Christ in faith and charity, and union with one another as members of Christ.

Over the destinies of men and of nations rules the providence of God and so disposes of natural processes and human events that they are made to minister to supernatural purposes. There is, for example, the emergence of these United States of America. On this continent men of all races, of all nationalities, have been brought close together and have set up for themselves a society in which differences do not count. To be sure, this unity has been a long while in the making and it is still far from perfect. Discriminations are still practiced. Segregation has not completely disappeared. Distinctions are still observed. But, by and large, we have come a long, long way and have given evidence to the world that accident of birth and historical background really do not matter and that hu-

man beings who live close to one another, who mingle with one another, who meet one another constantly and intimately, gradually come to know and trust one another, to lose that fear of one another that is born of strangeness and, bit by bit, achieve a sense of common interest and reach a community of ideals and aspirations. They learn to bear one another's burdens without favor or distinction and gradually create a great and powerful nation dedicated to the ideals of freedom and justice for all and increasingly zealous for the welfare of each and every one of its citizens.

The while America has prospered and found greater strength in deeper and deeper unity, something has been happening in the world at large. This earth of ours is becoming ever smaller. Means of transportation have been marvelously improved. The sailing vessel has yielded place to steam-propelled ocean greyhounds, and they in turn may soon be outmoded by the miracles that have been wrought in the air. Words spoken in New York can be heard almost anywhere in the world the moment they are uttered. No place is any longer very far away.

We Americans have not yet fully grasped what all this means for us and our place in human affairs. We did not realize that the conquest of Manchuria had any relation to our security, and we failed to hear the sound of marching feet and the rumble of tanks when the Nazis invaded Poland. Bombs dropped on London and exploded, and we did not realize that they were aimed at us. We seemed so far away, so safe, so protected.

We know better now. We have come to understand that, whether we like it or not, we are vitally concerned with anything that happens any place on the globe. In the present fateful moment, faced with perils the like of which we have never known before, conscious that everything that we love and cherish is threatened, we are making

new and inspiring discoveries about America every day. We are thrilled as events reveal to us resources of intelligence, of resolve, of readiness for sacrifice we did not know that we possessed. We are fumbling a bit, exhibiting a certain measure of selfishness here and some stupidity there. In all things we have not, it is true, come up to our own expectations. Yet our performance to date is reassuring and even inspiring. We are discovering an America that is unafraid, an America that is resourceful, an America that is united, an America that girds itself for war in order that the world may have peace.

For, after all, what we are fighting for is world unity. This aim is expressed in every formulation that has been made to date of our war aims. Not a world unity, to be sure, that would be accomplished through world empire; not a world unity that would destroy other nations and chain other peoples to our chariot of conquest. The unity that is envisaged in the four freedoms, in the Atlantic Charter, and in other pronouncements of our leaders is a unity which would be born of the recognition everywhere of the sacredness of the human personality and of the implications that flow from the fact of the human brotherhood. We are at war to destroy the barriers that have been raised to divide mankind, to separate people from one another, the barriers of race, the barriers of fear, the barriers of trade and commerce, the barriers of exaggerated nationalism. We are at war to destroy the barriers that have been raised to separate man from his God. We are determined that all men everywhere, in all times and under all circumstances, without regard for any human consideration and despite any human mandate shall have free access to their Father Who is in Heaven. We dare to think of an age ahead of us in which people, just common people, will count more than anything else, more than empires and power politics and international finance and

trade balances and spheres of influence, an age in which the primary concern will be the happiness and security and necessary well-being of every man and woman and child under the sun.

For ideals such as these, we are fighting this war. Our enemies scoff at them and give them the lie; and even in our own midst there are cynics who question their sincerity. Yet Americans know that these ideals are real and genuine, for Americans know that they could fight for nothing less. The lives of our soldiers and our sailors are too precious, too sacred, to risk for anything short of this. The men and boys who have gone away from our farms and our factories, from our banks and our business establishments, from our colleges and our universities, are ready to risk all and sacrifice everything, as are those who have been left behind, in order to eradicate from the face of the earth all the stupid and unholy things which foster wars and carnage. They could never be mobilized to go forth and sow the seeds of further dissensions that would only yield a crop of misery for generations yet to come. Here in America we have discovered from happy experience that human beings of all kinds and classes can live together in peace and harmony and find mutual happiness under conditions that befit human dignity; we go forth to battle with the purpose of destroying those things that prevent people in other lands from making the same discovery.

There is not a man or a woman among us today, whether in high place or in low, who understands fully all that is involved in the present struggle or who can discern with any clarity the shape of things to come. Great changes are taking place in human society, and even greater changes will take place in the days that are ahead. We are in the midst of a world revolution, of which the war is just one phase.

Some things we can see and see clearly. Ideas and ideologies are being propagated and fought for that are false and dangerous. On these, political and economic structures have been reared that are evil. We know these must be destroyed if there is to be any hope for decent living under the sun. Unto their destruction our war effort is dedicated.

The while we destroy what is evil, we dare not forget our responsibility for building what is good. We cannot fight this war intelligently, we cannot fight this war as Americans must fight, unless we envisage the peace that is to come. At this point, we stand in vital need of guidance and help from the Wisdom and Power that exists outside of us and to which we have given the name of God. If we refuse to have God in our knowledge, if we banish Him from our deliberations the while we make our plans for a post-war world, then like all who in ages gone have made the same fatal mistake, we shall, in the words of St. Paul, be "delivered up to a reprobate sense," and the confusion of mankind will be the more confounded.

Unfortunately for us and for the world, this land of ours has become a bit strange to God and the things of God. Once we were a religious people. It was primarily because we understood the necessity of religion for human happiness and well-being that we established our schools and means of education. In the Declaration of Independence we claimed for ourselves the rights that belonged to us because God had created us, and we came forth free and equal from His hands. Our forefathers went to church on Sunday and realized that their fundamental obligation in living was the worship of their Father Who is in heaven.

In recent years we have strained at our moorings to the Divine, and too frequently we have sundered them

completely. Our education is no longer rooted and founded in religion; we no longer consider it an obligation to go to church; literally millions of us are utterly illiterate in matters religious. We do not know God and hence we do not glorify Him or give Him thanks. The visible things all around us bring to our foolish minds no meaning whatever of things that are invisible. We profess ourselves to be wise. Yet we are vain in our thoughts; and, if we but knew it, darkness broods over our hearts.

All of this must, of necessity, handicap us most seriously in the mission we have undertaken to bring about a universal acceptance of those fundamental principles of truth and justice that must govern the actions of individuals and nations if there is to be peace in the world.

What America professes to stand for, what America strives for, what America is fighting for, what America dreams, has neither reality nor substance apart from belief in God. We talk of the brotherhood of man, but men are brothers only because there is a common Father in heaven. We dilate on the sacredness of the human personality; but human beings are sacred, not because we say so, but because they are creatures whom God has fashioned according to His Image and likeness, redeemed by the precious blood of His Son, and destined for eternal union with Him. We make strong pronouncements in favor of religious freedom; but some of us are so befuddled in our thinking, so obtuse to the dictates of right reason, that we justify on this score the freedom of government to attempt to destroy religion. We would break asunder the shackles that tyranny has forged to enslave mankind; but we fail to take due cognizance of the fact that human liberty can be guaranteed only on the condition that we recognize the authority of God and submit our wills to the yoke of His Commandments. A na-

tion that is forgetful of God, that pays Him but occasional lip service, could easily enough become a nation that is godless, and godlessness never created anything of lasting value. It is a deadly virus that enervates, debilitates, and eventually devastates all that is fine and decent and noble and sacred.

Highest time it is that we got down on our knees, made full confession of our disloyalty to Our Maker, and acknowledged that we are not sufficient unto ourselves. If we have gotten off our course, it is because we have refused to steer according to the compass of His Holy Will. We must rediscover the America our fathers founded and in which their hopes were vested, the America of faith in God, the America of churches and churchgoing people, the America of men and women and children who pray and walk in the Divine Presence, the America that feeds its intellect on Heavenly Wisdom and not on the husks served up by shallow-minded teachers and writers who lack the education and the mental stamina to understand the American soul and to cling to the American tradition.

"There is only one Name under heaven in Which men can be saved." This is a fact which remains immutably true. There is only one possible center for the universe of mankind and that center is the Heart of Jesus Christ. The peace that the world can give is at the very best an armistice; lasting peace can be achieved only under the banner of the Prince of Peace. In Him alone will God gather up the things that are scattered. In Him alone can all things be restored. America can become an effective instrument for this Eternal purpose only in the degree that she accepts His leadership and lives and moves and has her being in His Grace.

What we Catholics stand for, what we strive to accomplish, the nation needs. We have the truth, the truth con-

cerning Christ and Him Crucified; that truth lights our way in our search for all other truth.

Our faith is for us the key to the riddle of life and living. It enables us to glimpse the unity that underlies all variety and to understand the meaning of what would otherwise be meaningless. Our faith is the yoke that emancipates our minds from the thralldom of ignorance and error and doubt. We are not as children tossed about by every wind of doctrine. We are rooted and founded in reality—the reality of the supernatural.

Our mission is to make the power of the supernatural felt and insistently felt in whatever we are doing. We will have failed in the degree that we conform ourselves to the spirit of this world. It is our duty, not only our religious duty but our patriotic duty, to translate our education into a quality of living worthy of the vocations into which we may be called. The diplomas of our schools are not just bits of parchment; they are marching orders from the Prince of Peace. Essentially, every Christian is another Christ going about doing good and bringing salvation to his fellow man.

The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a leaven; that leaven must work through us, each one of us making Christ's power felt in our own particular spheres. One in mind through faith, we must strive to become one in will through love. Our love must reach out and embrace all men everywhere and know no requiting until the vehement yearning of the Savior is fulfilled, "that they may be one as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee, that also they may be one in Us."

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